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THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, BART.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

LONDON:

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A N

AN
ESSAY
UPON THE
ADVANCEMENT
OF
TRADE IN IRELAND.

Written to the

Earl of ESSEX, *Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom.*

My LORD, Dublin, July 22, 1673.

I KNOW not what it was that fell into diſcourſe the other day, and gave your excellency the occaſion of deſiring me to digeſt into ſome method, and upon paper, the ways and means I eſteemed moſt proper for the advancing of trade in Ireland: this I know very well, that you did it in a manner, and with expreſſions too obliging to be refuſed, and out of a deſign ſo public and generous, as ought not to be diſcouraged. I had therefore much rather obey your lordſhip in this point, how ill ſoever I do it, than excuſe myſelf, though never ſo well, which were much eaſier than the other. For I might alledge, that neither my birth nor my breeding has been at all in this country: that I have paſſed only one ſhort period of my life here, and the greateſt part thereof wholly

wholly out of buſineſs and public thoughts: that I have ſince been ten years abſent from it, and am now here upon no other occaſion than of a ſhort viſit to ſome of my friends; which are all circumſtances that make me a very improper ſubject for ſuch a command. But I ſuppoſe the vein I have had of running into ſpeculations of this kind upon a greater ſcene of trade, and in a country where I was more a ſtranger; and the too partial favour your lordſhip has expreſſed to another diſcourſe of this nature, have coſt me this preſent ſervice; and you have thought fit to puniſh me for one folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the confeſſor, that preſcribed a drunkard the penance of being drunk again. However it is, your lordſhip ſhall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excuſed; which is all I pretend to upon this occaſion.

Before I enter upon the conſiderations of trade, which are more general, and may be more laſting in this kingdom, I will obſerve to your lordſhip ſome particular circumſtances in the conſtitution and government, which have been hitherto, and may be long, the great diſcouragers of trade and riches here; and ſome others in the preſent conjuncture, which are abſolutely mortal to it: and ſo you may not expect to find remedies where indeed there are none, nor ſuffer men, like buſy ignorant phyſicians, to apply ſuch as are contrary to the diſeaſe, becauſe they cannot find ſuch as are proper for it.

The true and natural ground of trade and riches is, number of people in proportion to the compaſs of ground they inhabit: this makes all things neceſſary to life dear, and that forces men to induſtry and parſimony. Theſe cuſtoms, which grow firſt from neceſſity, come with time to be habitual to a country; and where-ever they are ſo, that place muſt grow great in traffic and riches, if not diſturbed by ſome accidents or revolutions, as of wars, of plagues, or famines, by which

which the people come to be either ſcattered or deſtroyed.

People are multiplied in a country by the temper of the climate, favourable to generation, to health, and long life; or elſe by the circumſtances of ſafety and eaſe under the government, the credit whereof invites men over to it, when they cannot be either ſafe or eaſy at home. When things are once in motion, trade begets trade, as fire does fire; and people go much where much people are already gone. So men run ſtill to a crowd where they ſee it in the ſtreets, or the fields, though it be only to do as others do, to ſee or to be entertained.

The want of trade in Ireland proceeds from the want of people; and this is not grown from any ill qualities of the climate or air, but chiefly from the frequent revolutions of ſo many wars and rebellions, ſo great ſlaughters and calamities of mankind, as have at ſeveral intervals of time ſucceeded the firſt conqueſt of this kingdom in Henry the IId's time, until the year 1653. Two very great plagues followed the two great wars, thoſe of queen Elizabeth's reign, and the laſt; which helped to drain the current ſtream of generation in the country.

The diſcredit which is grown upon the conſtitutions or ſettlements of this kingdom, by ſo frequent and unhappy revolutions that for many ages have infeſted it, has been the great diſcouragement to other nations to tranſplant themſelves hither, and prevailed further than all the invitations which the cheapneſs and plenty of the country has made them. So that, had it not been for the numbers of the Britiſh, which the neceſſity of the late wars at firſt drew over, and of ſuch who either as adventurers or ſoldiers ſeated themſelves here upon account of the ſatisfaction made to them in land, the country had by the laſt war and plague been left in a manner deſolate.

Beſides,

Beſides, the ſubordinacy of the government changing hands ſo often makes an unſteadineſs in the purſuit of the public intereſts of the kingdom, gives way to the emulations of the different factions, and draws the favour or countenance of the government ſometimes to one party or intereſt, ſometimes to another: this makes different motions in men's minds, raiſing hopes and fears, and opinions of uncertainty in their poſſeſſions; and thereby in the peace of the country.

This ſubordinacy in the government, and emulation of parties, with the want ſometimes of authority in the governor (by the weakneſs of his credit and ſupport at court) occaſions the perpetual agencies or journies into England of all perſons that have any conſiderable pretences in Ireland, and money to purſue them; which end many times in long abodes, and frequent habituating of families there, though they have no money to ſupport them, but what is drawn out of Ireland. Beſides, the young gentlemen go of courſe for their breeding there; ſome ſeek their health, and others their entertainment in a better climate or ſcene: by theſe means the country loſes the expence of many of the richeſt perſons or families at home, and mighty ſums of money muſt needs go over from hence into England; which the great ſtock of rich native commodities here can make the only amends for.

Theſe circumſtances, ſo prejudicial to the increaſe of trade and riches in a country, ſeem natural, or at leaſt have ever been incident, to the government here; and without them, the native fertility of the ſoil and ſeas in ſo many rich commodities, improved by multitude of people and induſtry, with the advantage of ſo many excellent havens, and a ſituation ſo commodious for all ſorts of foreign trade, muſt needs have rendered this kingdom one of the richeſt in Europe, and made a mighty increaſe both of ſtrength and revenue to the crown of England; whereas it has hitherto been rather

ther eſteemed and found to be our weak-ſide, and to have coſt us more blood and treaſure than it is worth.

Since my late arrival in Ireland, I have found a very unuſual, but, I doubt, very juſt complaint concerning the ſcarcity of money; which occaſioned many airy propoſitions for the remedy of it, and among the reſt that of raiſing ſome, or all of the coins here. This was chiefly grounded upon the experience made, as they ſay, about the Duke of Ormond's coming firſt over hither in 1663, when the plate-pieces of eight were raiſed three-pence in the piece, and a mighty plenty of money was obſerved to grow in Ireland for a year or two after. But this ſeems to me a very miſtaken account, and to have depended wholly upon other circumſtances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raiſing of the money, to which it is by ſome great men attributed. For firſt, there was about that time a general peace and ſerenity, which had newly ſucceeded a general trouble and cloud throughout all his Majeſty's kingdoms; then after two years attendance in England, upon the ſettlement of Ireland (there on the forge) by all perſons and parties here that were conſiderably intereſted in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main ſettlement of Ireland wound up in England, and put into the Duke of Ormond's hands to paſs here into an act; all perſons came over in a ſhoal, either to attend their own concernments in the main, or more particularly to make their court to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom his Majeſty had at that time in a manner wholly devolved the care and diſpoſition of all affairs in this kingdom. This made a ſudden and mighty ſtop of that iſſue of money which had for two years run perpetually out of Ireland into England, and kept it all at home. Nor is the very expence of the Duke of Ormond's own great patrimonial eſtate, with that of ſeveral other families that came over at that time, of ſmall conſideration in the ſtock

of this kingdom. Beſides, there was a great ſum of money in ready coin brought over out of England at the ſame time, towards the arrears of the army; which are all circumſtances that muſt needs have made a mighty change in the courſe of ready money here. All the effect that I conceive was made by crying up the pieces of eight, was to bring in much more of that ſpecies inſtead of others current here (as indeed all the money brought from England was of that ſort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worſe allay) and to carry away much Engliſh money in exchange for plate-pieces; by which a trade was driven very beneficial to the traders, but of mighty loſs to the kingdom in the intrinſic value of their money.

The circumſtances at this time ſeem to be juſt the reverſe of what they were then: the nation is engaged in a war the moſt fatal to trade of any that could ariſe: the ſettlement of Ireland ſhaken at the Court, and falling into new diſquiſitions (whether in truth, or in common opinion, is all a caſe): this draws continual agencies and journeys of people concerned into England, to watch the motions of the main wheel there. Beſides, the Lieutenants of Ireland, ſince the Duke of Ormond's time, have had little in their diſpoſition here, and only executed the reſolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general affairs; which has drawn thither the attendance of all private pretenders. The great eſtates of this kingdom have been four or five years conſtantly ſpent in England. Money, inſtead of coming over hither for pay of the army, has, ſince the war began, been tranſmitted thither for pay of thoſe forces that were called from hence. And laſtly, this war has had a more particular and mortal influence upon the trade of this country, than upon any other of his Majeſty's kingdoms.

For by the act againſt tranſportation of cattle into England, the trade of this country, which ran wholly thither

thither before, was turned very much into foreign parts; but by this war the laſt is ſtopped, and, the other not being opened, there is in a manner no vent for any commodity but of wool. This neceſſity has forced the kingdom to go on ſtill with their foreign trade; but that has been with ſuch mighty loſſes by the great number of Dutch privateers plying about the coaſts, and the want of Engliſh frigates to ſecure them, that the ſtock of the kingdom muſt be extremely diminiſhed. Yet, by the continuance of the ſame expence and luxury in point of living, money goes over into England to fetch what muſt ſupply it, though little commodities go, either there or abroad, to make any conſiderable balance: by all which it muſt happen, that with another year's continuance of the war, there will hardly be money left in this kingdom to turn the common markets, or pay any rents, or leave any circulation, further than the receipts of the cuſtoms and quit-rents, and the pays of the army, which in both kinds muſt be the laſt that fail.

In ſuch a conjecture, the crying up of any ſpecies of money will but increaſe the want of it in general; for while there goes not out commodity to balance that which is brought in (and no degree of gains by exportation will make amends for the venture) what ſhould money come in for, unleſs it be to carry out other money as it did before, and leave the ſtock that remains equal indeed in denomination, but lower in the intrinſic value than it was before? In ſhort, while this war laſts, and our ſeas are ill-guarded, all that can be done towards preſerving the ſmall remainder of money in this kingdom is, firſt, to introduce, as far as can be, a vein of parſimony throughout the country in all things that are not perfectly the native growths and manufactures: then by ſeverity and ſteadineſs of the government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in ſome credit the preſent peace and ſettlement: and

laſtly, to force men to a degree of induſtry, by ſuffering none to hope that they ſhall be able to live by rapine or fraud. For, in ſome diſeaſes of a civil as well as a natural body, all that can be done is to faſt and to reſt, to watch and to prevent accidents, to truſt to methods rather than medicines or remedies; and with patience to expect, till the humours being ſpent and the criſis paſt, way may be made for the natural returns of health and of ſtrength.

This being premiſed as peculiar either to the government in general, or to the preſent conjuncture; I ſhall proceed to ſuch obſervations as occur concerning the ways of advancing the common and ſtanding trade of this kingdom.

The trade of a country ariſes from the native growths of the ſoil or ſeas; the manufactures, the commodiouſneſs of ports, and the ſtore of ſhipping which belong to it. The improvement therefore of trade in Ireland muſt be conſidered in the ſurvey of all theſe particulars, the defects to which at preſent they are ſubject, and the increaſes they are capable of receiving either from the courſe of time, the change of cuſtoms, or the conduct and application of the government.

The native commodities or common eaſy manufactures which make up the exportation of this kingdom, and conſequently furniſh both the ſtock of foreign commodities conſumed in the country, and that likewiſe of current money, by which all trade is turned, are wool, butter, beef, cattle, fiſh, iron; and by the improvement of theſe, either in the quantity, the credit, or the further manufacture, the trade of Ireland ſeems chiefly to be advanced.

In this ſurvey one thing muſt be taken notice of as peculiar to this country, which is, that, as in the nature of its government, ſo, in the very improvement of its trade and riches, it ought to be conſidered not only in its own proper intereſt, but likewiſe in its

its relation to England, to which it is ſubordinate, and upon whoſe weal in the main that of this kingdom depends; and therefore a regard muſt be had of thoſe points wherein the trade of Ireland comes to interfere with any main branches of the trade of England; in which caſes the encouragement of ſuch trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and ſo give way to the intereſt of trade in England, upon the health and vigour whereof the ſtrength, riches, and glory of his Majeſty's crowns ſeem chiefly to depend. But, on the other ſide, ſome ſuch branches of trade ought not wholly to be ſuppreſſed, but rather ſo far admitted as may ſerve the general conſumption of this kingdom; leſt by too great an importation of commodities, though out of England itſelf, the money of this kingdom happen to be drawn away in ſuch a degree, as not to leave a ſtock ſufficient for turning the trade at home: the effect hereof would be general diſcontents among the people; complaints, or at leaſt ill impreſſions, of the government; which in a country compoſed of three ſeveral nations different to a great degree in language, cuſtoms, and religion, as well as intereſts (both of property and dependencies) may prove not only dangerous to this kingdom, but to England itſelf. Since a ſore in the leg may affect the body, and in time grow as difficult to cure as if it were in the head; eſpecially where humours abound.

The wool of Ireland ſeems not to be capable of any increaſe, nor to ſuffer under any defect, the country being generally full ſtocked with ſheep, cleared of wolves, the ſoil little ſubject to other rots than of hunger; and all the conſiderable flocks being of Engliſh breed, and the ſtaple of wool generally equal with that of Northampton or Leiceſterſhire, the improvement of this commodity by manufactures in this kingdom would give ſo great a damp to the trade of

England (of which cloths, ſtuffs, and ſtockings make ſo mighty a part) that it ſeems not fit to be encouraged here; at leaſt no farther than to ſuch a quantity of one or two ſummer-ſtuffs, Iriſh freeze, and cloth from ſix ſhillings to fourteen, as may ſupply, in ſome meaſure, the ordinary conſumption of the kingdom. That which ſeems moſt neceſſary in this branch is the careful and ſevere execution of the ſtatutes provided to forbid the exportation of wool to any other parts but to England; which is the more to be watched and feared, ſince thereby the preſent riches of this kingdom would be mightily increaſed, and great advantages might be made by the connivance of governors; whereas, on the other ſide, this would prove a moſt ſenſible decay, if not deſtruction, of manufactures both here and in England itſelf.

Yarn is a commodity very proper to this country, but made in no great quantities in any parts beſides the north, nor any where into linen to any great degree, or of ſorts fit for the better uſes at home, or exportation abroad; though, of all others, this ought moſt to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly deſigned by the Earl of Strafford. The ſoil produces flax kindly and well, and fine too, anſwerable to the care uſed in choice of ſeed and exerciſe of huſbandry; and much land is fit for it here, which is not ſo for corn. The manufacture of it, in gathering or beating, is of little toil or application, and ſo the fitter for the natives of the country. Beſides, no women are apter to ſpin it well than the Iriſh, who labouring little in any kind with their hands, have their fingers more ſupple and ſoft than other women of the poorer condition among us: and this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great manufacture of linen, ſo as to beat down the trade both of France and Holland, and draw much of the money, which goes from England to thoſe parts upon this occaſion, into the hands of his Majeſty's

ſubjects

ſubjects of Ireland, without croſſing any intereſt of trade in England. For, beſides what has been ſaid of flax and ſpinning, the ſoil and climate are proper for whitening, both by the frequency of brooks and alſo of winds in the country.

Much care was ſpent upon this deſign in an act of Parliament paſſed the laſt ſeſſion, and ſomething may have been advanced by it; but the too great rigour impoſed upon the ſowing of certain quantities of flax has cauſed (and perhaps juſtly) a general neglect in the execution, and common guilt has made the penalties impracticable; ſo as the main effect has been ſpoiled by too much diligence, and the child killed with kindneſs. For the money applied by that act to the encouragement of making fine linen, and broad (which I think is twenty pounds every year in each county) though the inſtitution was good, yet it has not reached the end, by encouraging any conſiderable application that way; ſo that ſometimes one ſhare of that money is paid to a ſingle pretender at the aſſizes or ſeſſions, and ſometimes a ſhare is ſaved, for want of any pretender at all.

This trade may be advanced by ſome amendments to the laſt act in another ſeſſion, whereby the neceſſity of ſowing flax may be ſo limited, as to be made eaſily practicable, and ſo may be forced by the ſeverity of levying the penalties enacted. And for the money allotted in the counties, no perſon ought to carry the firſt, ſecond, or third prize, without producing two pieces of linen of each ſort, whereas one only now is neceſſary: and ſevere defences may be made againſt weaving any linen under a certain breadth, ſuch as may be of better uſe to the pooreſt people, and in the coarſeſt linen, than the narrow Iriſh cloth, and may bear ſome price abroad, whenever more comes to be made than is conſumed at home. But, after all theſe, or ſuch like proviſions, there are but two things which

can make any extraordinary advance in this branch of trade, and thoſe are: firſt, an increaſe of people in the country to ſuch a degree, as may make things neceſſary to life dear, and thereby force general induſtry from each member of a family (women as well as men) and in as many ſorts as they can well turn to, which, among others, may in time come to turn the vein this way. The ſecond is a particular application in the government. And this muſt be made either by ſome governor upon his own private account, who has a great ſtock that he is content to turn that way, and is invited by the gain, or elſe by the honour of bringing to paſs a work of ſo much public utility both to England and Ireland, which circumſtances I ſuppoſe concurred both in the Earl of Strafford's deſign; and, whenever they meet again, can have no better copy to follow in all particulars, than that begun at the Naas in his time. Or elſe by a conſiderable ſum of money being laid aſide, either out of his Majeſty's preſent revenue, or ſome future ſubſidy to be granted for this occaſion: and this either to be employed in ſetting up of ſome great linen manufacture in ſome certain place, and to be managed by ſome certain hands both for making all ſorts of fine cloths, and of thoſe for ſails too; the benefit or loſs of ſuch a trade accruing to the government until it comes to take root in the nation. Or elſe if this ſeem too great an undertaking for the humour of our age, then ſuch a ſum of money to lie ready in hands appointed by the government, for taking off at common moderate prices all ſuch pieces of cloth as ſhall be brought in by any perſons at certain times to the chief town of each county; and all ſuch pieces of cloth, as are fit for ſails, to be carried into the ſtores of the navy. All, that are fit for the uſe of the army, to be given the ſoldiers (as cloaths are) in part of their pay: and all finer pieces to be ſold, and the money ſtill applied to the increaſe or

conſtant

conſtant ſupply of the main ſtock. The effect hereof would be, that people finding a certain market for this commodity, and that of others, ſo uncertain as it is in this kingdom, would turn ſo much of their induſtry this way, as would ſerve to furniſh a great part of that money which is moſt abſolutely neceſſary for payment of taxes, rents, or ſubſiſtence of families.

Hide, tallow, butter, beef, ariſe all from one ſort of cattle, and are ſubject to the ſame general defects, and capable of the ſame common improvements.

The three firſt are certain commodities, and yield the readieſt money of any that are turned in this kingdom, becauſe they never fail of a price abroad. Beef is a drug, finding no conſtant vent abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at home: for the conſumption of the kingdom holds no proportion with the product that is uſually made of cattle in it; ſo that in many parts at this time an ox may be bought in the country-markets, and the hide and tallow ſold at the next trading town for near as much as it coſt. The defects of theſe commodities lie either in the age and feeding of the cattle that are killed, or in the manufacture, and making them up for exportation abroad.

Until the tranſportation of cattle into England was forbidden by the late act of parliament, the quickeſt trade of ready money here was driven by the ſale of young bullocks, which for four or five ſummer-months of the year were carried over in very great numbers; and this made all the breeders in the kingdom turn their lands and ſtocks chiefly to that ſort of cattle. Few cows were bred up for the dairy, more than ſerved the conſumption within; and few oxen for draught, which was all performed by raſcally ſmall horſes; ſo as the cattle generally ſold either for ſlaughter within, or exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at beſt four years old, and thoſe ſuch as had never been either handled

handled or wintered at hand-meat, but bred wholly upon the mountains in ſummer, and upon the withered long graſs of the lower lands in the winter. The effect hereof was very pernicious to this kingdom in what concerned all theſe commodities; the hides were ſmall, thin, and lank; the tallow much leſs in quantity, and of quicker conſumption. Little butter was exported abroad, and that diſcredited by the houſewifery of the Iriſh, in making it up; moſt of what was ſent coming from their hands, who alone kept up the trade of dairies, becauſe the breed of their cattle was not fit for the Engliſh markets. But above all, the trade of beef for foreign exportation was prejudiced and almoſt ſunk. For the fleſh being young, and only graſs-fed (and that on a ſudden by the ſweetneſs of the ſummer's paſture, after the cattle being almoſt ſtarved in the winter) was thin, light, and moiſt, and not of a ſubſtance to endure the ſalt, or be preſerved by it for long voyages, or a ſlow conſumption. Beſides, either the unſkilfulneſs, or careleſſneſs, or knavery of the traders, added much to the under-value and diſcredit of theſe commodities abroad; for the hides were often made up very dirty, which increaſed the weight, by which that commodity is ſold when it comes in quantities abroad. The butter would be better on the top and bottom of the barrel, than in the middle, which would be ſometimes filled up, or mingled with tallow; nay, ſometimes with ſtones. The beef would be ſo ill choſen, or ſo ill cured, as to ſtink many times before it came ſo far as Holland, or at leaſt not prove a commodity that would defray the firſt charge of the merchant before it was ſhipped. Nay, I have known merchants there fain to throw away great quantities, after having lain long on their hands without any market at all.

After the act in England had wholly ſtopped the tranſportation of cattle, the trade of this kingdom was forced

forced to find out a new channel; a great deal of land was turned to ſheep, becauſe wool gave ready money for the Engliſh markets, and by ſtealth for thoſe abroad. The breeders of Engliſh cattle turned much to dairy, or elſe by keeping their cattle to ſix and ſeven years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the beef-trade abroad; and ſome of the merchants fell into care and exactneſs in barrelling them up; and hereby the improvements of this trade were grown ſo ſenſible in the courſe of a few years, that in the year 1669 ſome merchants in Holland aſſured me, that they had received parcels of beef out of Ireland which ſold current, and very near the Engliſh; and of butter which ſold beyond it; and that they had obſerved it ſpent as if it came from the richer ſoil of the two. It is moſt evident, that, if the Dutch war had not broken out ſo ſoon after the improvements of all theſe trades (forced at firſt by neceſſity, and growing afterwards habitual by uſe) a few years would have very much advanced the trade and riches of this kingdom, and made it a great gainer, inſtead of loſing by the act againſt tranſportation of their cattle: but the war gave a ſudden damp to this and all other trade, which is ſunk to nothing by the continuance of it.

However, having marked the defects that were even in time of peace, it may not be uſeleſs to ſet down the remedies, though little practicable while the war laſts. For that great one of killing cattle young, and only graſs-fed, I know none ſo effectual as introducing a general cuſtom of uſing oxen for all ſorts of draught, which would be perhaps the greateſt improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the kingdom. By this means the great ſlaughter would be made of full-grown, large, and well wintered cattle, which would double the income made by hide, tallow, and beef, and raiſe their credit in all foreign markets; every man would be forced to provide winter-fodder for

for his team (whereas common garrans ſhift upon graſs the year round); and this would force men to the incloſing of grounds, and improving bog into meadows; the race of garrans would decreaſe, and ſo make room for the country's maintaining the great number of cattle, which makes a foreign commodity, though they die by accident or age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or uſeful thing is to be atchieved without difficulties; and therefore what may be raiſed againſt this propoſal, ought not to diſcourage the attempting it. Firſt, the ſtatutes againſt that barbarous cuſtom of ploughing by the tail ought to be renewed, and upon abſolute forfeitures inſtead of penalties; the conſtant and eaſy compoſitions whereof have proved rather an allowing than a forbidding it. Now if this were wholly diſuſed, the harneſs for horſes being dearer than for oxen, the Iriſh would turn their draught to the laſt, where-ever they have hitherto uſed the ploughing by the tail. Next, a ſtandard might be made, under which no horſe ſhould be uſed for draught; this would not only enlarge the breed of horſes, but make way for the uſe of oxen, becauſe they would be cheaper kept than large good horſes, which could not be wintered like garrans, without houſing or fodder. And laſtly, a tax might be laid upon every horſe of draught throughout the kingdom; which, beſides the main uſe here intended, would increaſe the King's revenue by one of the eaſieſt ways that is any where in uſe.

For the miſcarriages mentioned in the making up of thoſe ſeveral commodities for foreign markets, they muſt likewiſe be remedied by ſevere laws, or elſe the improvements of the commodities themſelves will not ſerve to bring them in credit, upon which all trade turns. Firſt, the ports, out of which ſuch commodities ſhall be ſhipped, may be reſtrained to a certain number, ſuch as lie moſt convenient for the vent of

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the inland provinces, and ſuch as either are already, or are capable of being made, regular corporations. Whatever of them ſhall be carried out of any other port ſhall be penal, both to the merchant that delivers, and to the maſter that receives them. In the ports allowed ſhall be publiſhed rules agreed on by the ſkilfulleſt merchants in thoſe wares, to be obſerved in the making up of all ſuch as are intended for foreign tranſportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to thoſe rules ſhall not be ſuffered to go out. Two officers may be appointed, to be choſen every three years, by the body of the corporation, whoſe buſineſs ſhall be to inſpect all barrels of beef, tallow, butter, and all packs of hides, and put to them the ſeal or mark of the corporation, without which none ſhall be ſuffered to go abroad; nor ſhall this mark be affixed to any parcels by thoſe officers, but ſuch as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the rules ſet forth for that purpoſe; whereof one ought to be certain, that every barrel be of the ſame conſtant weight, or ſomething over. If this were obſerved for a ſmall courſe of time, under any certain marks, the credit of them, both as to quality and weight, would riſe to that degree, that the barrels or packs would go off in the markets they uſed abroad, upon ſight of the mark, like ſilver-plate upon ſight of the city's mark where it is made.

The great difficulty will lie in the good execution of the offices; but the intereſt of ſuch corporations, lying ſo deep in the credit of their mark, will make emulation among them, every one vying to raiſe their own as high as they can; and this will make them careful in the choice of men fit for that turn. Beſides, the offices ought to be made beneficial to a good degree, by a certain fee upon every ſeal; and yet the office to be forfeited upon every miſcarriage of the officer, which ſhall be judged ſo by the chief magiſtrates

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of the town, and thereupon a new election be made by the body of the corporation.

Cattle for exportation are ſheep, bullocks, horſes; and of one or other of theſe kinds the country ſeems to be full ſtocked, no ground that I hear of being untenanted: the two firſt ſeem ſufficiently improved in the kinds as well as the number, moſt of both being of the Engliſh breed. And though it were better for the country, if the number of horſes being leſſened made room for that of increaſing ſheep, and great cattle; yet it ſeems indifferent which of theſe two were moſt turned to, and that will be regulated by the liberty or reſtraint of carrying live cattle into England. When the paſſage is open, land will be turned moſt to great cattle; when ſhut, to ſheep, as it is at preſent; though I am not of opinion it can laſt, becauſe that act ſeems to have been carried on rather by the intereſts of particular counties in England, than by that of the whole, which in my opinion muſt be evidently a loſer by it. For firſt, the freight of all cattle that were brought over, being in Engliſh veſſels, was ſo much clear gain to England; and this was one with another near a third, or at leaſt a fourth part of the price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the firſt market, made them double the price by one year's feeding, which was the greateſt improvement to be made of our dry paſture-land in England. The trade of hides, and tallow, or elſe of leather, was mightily advanced in England, which will be beaten down in foreign markets by Ireland, if they come to kill all their cattle at home. The young Iriſh cattle ſerved for the common conſumption in England, while their own large old fat cattle went into the barrel for the foreign trade, in which Iriſh beef had in a manner no part, though by the continuance of this reſtraint it will be forced upon improvement, and come to ſhare with England in the beef-trade abroad. Grounds

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were turned much in England from breeding, either to feeding or dairy, and this advanced the trade of Engliſh butter, which will be extremely beaten down when Ireland turns to it too (and in the way of Engliſh houſewifery, as it has done a great deal ſince the reſtraint upon cattle). And laſtly, whereas Ireland had before very little trade but with England, and with the money for their cattle bought all the commodities there which they wanted; by this reſtraint they are forced to ſeek a foreign market; and where they ſell, they will be ſure to buy too; and all the foreign merchandize which they had before from Briſtol, Cheſter, and London, they will have in time from Roan, Amſterdam, Liſbon, and the Straits. As for the true cauſes of the decay of rents in England, which made the occaſion of that act, they were to be found in the want of people, in the mighty conſumption of foreign commodities among the better ſort, and in a higher way of living among all, and not in this tranſportation of Iriſh cattle, which would have been complained of in former times, if it had been found a prejudice to England. Beſides, the rents have been far from increaſing ſince; and though that may be by other accidents, yet, as to what concerns Ireland, it comes all to one, unleſs wool be forbidden as well as cattle; for the leſs cattle comes over from thence, there comes the more wool, which goes as far as the other towards beating down the price of paſture-lands in England; and yet the tranſportation of wool cannot be forbidden, ſince that would force the Iriſh wool, either by ſtealth into foreign markets, or elſe in cloth by the advance of that manufacture; either of which would bring a ſudden decay upon the principal branch of the Engliſh trade.

Horſes in Ireland are a drug, but might be improved to a commodity, not only of a greater uſe at home, but alſo fit for exportation into other countries. The

ſoil is of a ſweet and plentiful graſs, which will raiſe a large breed; and the hills, eſpecially near the ſea-coaſts, are hard and rough, and ſo fit to give them ſhape, and breath, and ſound feet. The preſent defects in them are breeding without choice of ſtallions either in ſhape or ſize, and truſting ſo far to the gentleneſs of the climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling colts till they are four years old: this both checks the growths of the common breeds, and gives them an incurable ſhyneſs, which is the general vice of Iriſh horſes, and is hardly ever ſeen in Flanders, becauſe the hardneſs of the winters in thoſe parts forces the breeders there to houſe and handle their colts for at leaſt ſix months every year. In the ſtuds of perſons of quality in Ireland, where care is taken, and coſt is not ſpared, we ſee horſes bred of excellent ſhape, and vigour, and ſize, ſo as to reach great prices at home, and encourage ſtrangers to find the market here; among whom I met with one this ummer who came over on that errand, and bought about twenty horſes to carry over into the French army, from twenty to threeſcore pounds price at the firſt hand.

The improvement of horſes here may be made by a ſtandard preſcribed to all ſtallions, and all horſes that ſhall be uſed for draught; the main point being to make the common breed large, for then, whether they have ſhape or no, they have ever ſome reaſonable price both at home and abroad. And beſides, being not to be raiſed without wintering, they will help to force men into improvement of land by a neceſſity of fodder. But for encouragement of finer breed, and in the better hands, ſome other inſtitutions may be invented, by which emulation may be raiſed among the breeders by a proſpect both of particular honour and profit to thoſe who ſucceed beſt, and of good ordinary gains and ready vent to ſuch as by aiming

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at the beſt, though they fail, yet go beyond the common ſorts. To this purpoſe there may be ſet up both a horſe-fair, and races to be held at a certain time every year for the ſpace of a week; the firſt in the faireſt green near the city of Dublin, the latter in that place deſigned by your Lordſhip in the park for ſome ſuch purpoſe. During this week, the Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday may be the races: the Tueſday, Thurſday, and Saturday the fairs may be held. At each race may be two plates given by the King, one of thirty pounds, and the other of twenty (beſides the faſhion) as the prizes for the firſt and ſecond horſe; the firſt engraven with a horſe crowned with a crown; the ſecond with a coronet, and under it the day of the month and the year. Beſides theſe plates, the wagers may be as the perſons pleaſe among themſelves, but the horſes muſt be evidenced by good teſtimonies to have been bred in Ireland. For honour, the Lord-lieutenant may ever be preſent himſelf, or at leaſt name a deputy in his room, and two judges of the field, who ſhall decide all controverſies, and with ſound of the trumpet declare the two victors. The maſters of theſe two horſes may be admitted to ride from the field to the caſtle with the Lord-lieutenant, or his deputy, and to dine with him that day, and there receive all the honour of the table. This to be done, what quality ſoever the perſons are of; for, the lower that is, the more will be the honour, and perhaps the more the ſport; and the encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all ſorts of men.

For the fairs, the Lord-lieutenant may likewiſe be preſent every day in the height of them, by himſelf or deputy, and may, with the advice of the two chief officers of the army then preſent, chuſe out one of the beſt horſes, and two of the beſt geldings that appear in the fair, not under four, nor above ſeven years

old; for which ſhall be paid to the owners of them, after ſufficient teſtimony of their being bred in Ireland, one hundred pounds for the horſe, and fifty pounds a-piece for the geldings. Theſe ſums, as that for the plates, to iſſue out of the revenue of Ireland, and without trouble or fee; and the three horſes to be ſent over every year to the King's ſtables. Both thoſe that win the plate, and thoſe which are thus ſold, ought immediately to be marked, ſo as they may never return a ſecond time, either to the race, or to the ſale.

The benefit, by ſuch an inſtitution as this, will be very great and various: for beſides the encouragement to breed the beſt horſes, from the honour and gain already mentioned, there will be a ſort of public entertainment for one whole week, during which the Lord-lieutenant, the Lord-mayor of the city, and the great officers both civil and military, ought to keep open tables for all ſtrangers. This will draw a confluence of people from all parts of the country. Many perhaps from the nearer parts of England may come, not only as to a public kind of ſolemnity; but as to a great mart of the beſt horſes. This will enrich the city by the expence of ſuch a concourſe, and the country by the ſale of many horſes into England, and in time (or from thence) into foreign parts. This will make general acquaintances among the gentry of the kingdom, and bring the Lord-lieutenant to be more perſonally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more greatneſs, and with more ſolemnity than uſual upon theſe occaſions. And all this with the expence only of two hundred and fifty pounds a-year to the Crown, for which the King ſhall have the three beſt horſes ſold that year in Ireland.

The fiſhing of Ireland might prove a mine under water, as rich as any under ground, if it were improved to thoſe vaſt advantages it is capable of, and that

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we ſee it raiſed to in other countries. But this is impoſſible under ſo great a want of people, and cheapneſs of all things neceſſary to life throughout the country, which are in all places invincible enemies of induſtry and improvements. While theſe continue, I know no way of advancing this trade to any conſiderable degree, unleſs it be the erecting four companies of fiſhery, one of each province of Ireland, into which every one that enters ſhall bring a certain capital, and receive a proportionable ſhare of the gain or loſs, and have a proportional voice in the election of a preſident and council, by whom the whole buſineſs in each province ſhall be managed. If into each of theſe companies the King or Lord-lieutenant would enter for a conſiderable ſhare at the firſt, towards building ſuch a number of boats and buſſes as each company could eaſily manage, it would be an encouragement both of honour and advantage. Certain privileges likewiſe, or immunities, might be granted from charges of trouble or expence, nay, from taxes, and all unuſual payments to the public, in favour of ſuch as brought in a proportion to a certain height into the ſtock of the fiſhery. Nay, it ſeems a matter of ſo great importance to his Majeſty's Crowns, both as to the improving the riches of this kingdom, and impairing the mighty gains of his neighbours by this trade, that perhaps there were no hurt if an act were made, by which none ſhould be capable of being either choſen into a parliament, or the commiſſion of the peace, who had not manifeſted his deſires of advancing the public good by entering in ſome certain proportion into the ſtock and companies of the fiſhery; ſince the greatneſs of the one, and application of the other, ſeem the only preſent means of improving ſo rich and ſo important a trade. It will afterwards be the buſineſs of the companies themſelves, or their directors, to fall into the beſt methods and rules for the curing and barrelling up

all their fiſh, and to ſee them ſo exactly obſerved, as may bring all thoſe quantities of them that ſhall be ſent abroad, or ſpent at home, into the higheſt and moſt general credit, which, with advancing the ſeaſons all that can be, ſo as to find the firſt foreign markets, will be a way to the greateſt and ſureſt gains. In Holland, there have been above thirty placarts, or acts of State, concerning the curing, ſalting, and barreling of herrings alone, with ſuch ſeverity in the impoſition and execution of penalties, that the buſineſs is now grown to an habitual ſkill, and care, and honeſty, ſo as hardly any example is ſeen of failing in that matter, or thereby impairing the general credit of that commodity among them, or in the foreign markets they uſe.

Iron ſeems to me the manufacture that, of all others, ought the leaſt to be encouraged in Ireland; or, if it be, which requires the moſt reſtriction to certain places and rules. For I do not remember to have heard that there is any ore in Ireland, at leaſt I am ſure the greateſt part is fetched from England; ſo that all this country affords of its own growth towards this manufacture, is but the wood, which has met but with too great conſumptions already in moſt parts of this kingdom, and needs not this to deſtroy what is left. So that iron-works ought to be confined to certain places, where either the woods continue vaſt, and make the country ſavage; or where they are not at all fit for timber, or likely to grow to it; or where there is no conveyance for timber to places of vent, ſo as to quit the coſt of the carriage.

Having run through the commodities of Ireland, with their defects and improvements, I will only touch the other two points mentioned at firſt, as the grounds likewiſe of trade in a country; thoſe are the commodiouſneſs of ports, and the ſtore of ſhipping; in one of which this kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the

the other. The haven of Dublin is barred to that degree, as very much to obſtruct the trade of the city; the clearing or opening of it is a great work, and proper either for the city, or the whole province of Lemſter to undertake. But whether it be feaſible, or at ſuch charges as will quit coſt, I will not judge, eſpecially conſidering the many good havens that are ſcattered upon that whole eaſtern coaſt of Ireland. Beſides this, I know not what to propoſe upon this head, unleſs it be the making of two free ports, one in Kerry, and the other upon the north-weſt coaſt, which may thereby grow to be magazines for the Weſt-India trade, and from thence thoſe commodities may be diſperſed unto all other parts of Europe, after having paid the cuſtoms which they ought to pay in England, where this muſt be concerted.

For the laſt point, I doubt there is hardly any other country lying upon the ſea-coaſt, and not wholly out of the way of trade, which has ſo little ſhipping of its own as Ireland, and which might be capable of employing more. The reaſon of this muſt be in part the ſcarcity of timber proper for this built; but more the want of merchants, and uncertainty of trade in the country. For preventing the further deſtruction of timber, a law may be made, forbidding any man to cut down any oak that is of a certain height, unleſs it be of a certain ſcantling, as twelve inches diameter, or ſome ſuch meaſure as uſually make a true uſeful timber. And further, the ſevereſt penalties ought to be put upon barking any tree that is not felled; a cuſtom barbarous, and peculiar to this country, and by which infinite quantities of timber have been deſtroyed.

Moſt traders in theſe parts, at leaſt of Ireland, are but factors; nor do I hear of any number of merchants in the kingdom. The cauſe of this muſt be rather an ill opinion of ſecurity, than of gain; for thoſe are the two baits which draw merchants to a place; the laſt

entices the poorer traders, or the young beginners, or thoſe of paſſage; but, without the firſt, the ſubſtantial and the rich will never ſettle in a country. This opinion can be attained only by a courſe of time, of good conduct, and good government, and thereby of juſtice and of peace, which lie out of the compaſs of this diſcourſe. But, to make ſome amends for this want at preſent, encouragement may be given to any merchants that ſhall come over and turn a certain ſtock of their own here, as naturalization upon any terms; freedom from cuſtoms the two firſt years, and from any offices of trouble or expence the firſt ſeven years. I ſee no hurt, if the King ſhould give leave to the merchants in eight or ten of the chief trading-ports of Ireland, to name for each town one of their number, out of which the Lord-lieutenant ſhould chuſe two to be of the Privy-council of Ireland, with a certain ſalary from the King to defray their attendance: this would be an honour and encouragement to ſo worthy a calling, and would introduce an intereſt of trade into the council; which being now compoſed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the civil or military officers, the traders ſeem to be left without patrons in the government, and thereby without favour to the particular concernments of a chief member in the politic body; and upon whoſe proſpering the wealth of the whole kingdom ſeems chiefly to depend.

But this is enough for your Excellency's trouble, and for the diſcharge of my promiſe, and too much, I doubt, for the humour of our age to bring into practice, or ſo much as to admit into conſideration. Your Lordſhip, I know, has generous thoughts, and turned to ſuch ſpeculations as theſe. But that is not enough towards the raiſing ſuch buildings as I have drawn you here the lines of, unleſs the direction of all affairs here were wholly in your hands, or at leaſt the opinion loſt of other men's being able to conteſt with you

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thoſe points of public utility, which you ought beſt to know, and moſt to be believed in, while you deſerve or diſcharge ſo great a truſt as the government of this kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much conſider whom to chuſe for ſuch employments; but, when he has choſen, cannot truſt them too far, or thereby give them too much authority; no more than end it too ſoon, whenever he finds it abuſed. In ſhort, it is left only to Princes to mend the world, whoſe commands find general obedience, and examples imitation. For all other men, they muſt take it as they find it; and good men enter into commerce with it, rather upon cautions of not being ſpoiled themſelves, than upon hopes of mending the world. At leaſt, this opinion becomes men of my level, amongſt whom I have obſerved all ſet quarrels with the age, and pretences of reforming it by their own models, to end commonly like the pains of a man in a little boat, who tugs at a rope that is faſt to a ſhip; it looks as if he reſolved to draw the ſhip to him, but the truth and his meaning is, to draw himſelf to the ſhip; where he gets in when he can, and does like the reſt of the crew when he is there. When I have ſuch deſigns, I will begin ſuch contentions; in the mean time, the bent of my thoughts ſhall be rather to mend myſelf than the world, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor ſhould I have reaſon in complaining too far of an age, which does your Lordſhip ſo much juſtice, by the honour of ſo great an employment. In which, as I know no man deſerves greater ſucceſſes than you do, ſo, I am ſure, no man wiſhes you greater than I do.

OF

Popular Diſcontents *.

SECT. I.

AMONG ſeveral differences or diſtinctions which curious and buſy, or rather idle men have obſerved between the races of mankind and thoſe of their fellow-creatures, moſt have been by ſome diſputed, and few by all allowed. Thoſe chiefly inſiſted on have been, ſomething peculiar in their

The Publiſher to the Reader of the Firſt Edition of MISCELLANEA, Part III.

* The two following eſſays, *Of Popular Diſcontents*, and *Of Health and long Life*, were written many years before the author's death: they were reviſed and corrected by himſelf; and were deſigned to have been part of a third *Miſcellanea*, to which ſome others were to have been added, if the latter part of his life had been attended with any ſufficient degree of health.

For the third paper, relating to the controverſy about *Ancient and Modern Learning*, I cannot well inform the reader upon what occaſion it was writ, having been at that time in another kingdom; but it appears never to have been finiſhed by the author.

The two next papers contain the heads of two eſſays, intended to have been written upon the *Different Conditions of Life and Fortune*; and upon *Converſation*. I have directed they ſhould both be printed among the reſt, becauſe I believe there are few who will not be content to ſee even the firſt draughts of any thing from this author's hands.

At the end I have added a few tranſlations from *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Tibullus*, or rather imitations, done by the author above thirty years ago; whereof the firſt was printed among other eclogues of *Virgil* in the year 1679, but without any mention of the author. They were indeed not intended to have been made public till I was informed of ſeveral copies that were got abroad, and theſe very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many ſpurious additions.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

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ſhape, weeping, laughter, ſpeech, reaſon; but the comptrollers of vulgar opinion have pretended to find out ſuch a ſimilitude of ſhape in ſome kind of baboons, or at leaſt ſuch as they call drills, that leaves little difference, beſides thoſe of feature in face, and of hair on their bodies; in both which, men themſelves are very different. They obſerve tears (though not the convulſions of face by weeping) in ſtags and tortoiſes, upon approach of the fatal knife; and that they cry at going out of the world, as well as men at their coming in. For ſpeech, they pretend to doubt whether the divers ſounds made by animals may not have diverſity of ſignifications, as words more articulate with us; and whether we can properly judge of their diverſity ſince we find ſo little in the common ſpeech of ſome nations, eſpecially thoſe about the Cape of Good Hope and the northern parts of Muſcovy, where they are obſerved to drive their trade of ſelling furs without the uſe of above twenty words, even with thoſe that underſtand their language. For the great number of words ſeems not natural, but introduced by the variety of paſſions, actions, poſſeſſions, buſineſs, entertainments in more civilized nations, and by long courſe of time under civil governments. Beſides, other creatures are allowed to expreſs their moſt natural wants and paſſions by the ſounds they make, as well as men, which is all that is neceſſary in ſpeech; and none will diſpute anger, deſire, love, fear, to be livelier expreſſed by us, than by the lion, the horſe, the bull, the buck; or tenderneſs, more than by the bleating of ewes to their lambs, or the kindneſs of turtles to their mates. For articulate ſounds and words, we meet them in parrots and ſeveral other birds; and, if theirs are taught them, ſo are ours at firſt to children; and though we uſually eſteem them in others to be only repetition or imitation, yet ſome inſtances of the contrary have been remarked in our age; and it appears by

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Greek and Latin authors to have been believed by ancients, that certain birds in the Indians were commonly known not only to ſpeak as parrots among us, but to talk and diſcourſe.

For reaſon, that of brutes, as dogs, horſes, owls, foxes, but eſpecially elephants, is ſo common a theme, that it needs no inſtances, nor can be well illuſtrated beyond what Plutarch, Ælian, Montaigne, and many others have curiouſly written upon that ſubject; nor can any man's common life paſs without occaſions of remark, and even wonder, upon what they may ſee every day of this kind: ſo that of all thoſe diſtinctions mentioned, and uſually produced, there is none left unqueſtioned by the curious beſide that of laughter, which cannot, I think, or at leaſt I know not to have been diſputed, being proper and peculiar to man, without any traces or ſimilitude of it in any other creature: and, if it were always an expreſſion of good humour, or being pleaſed, we ſhould have reaſon to value ourſelves more upon it; but it is moved by ſuch different and contrary objects and affections, that it has gained little eſteem, ſince we laugh at folly as well as wit, at accidents that vex us ſometimes, as well as others that pleaſe us, and at the malice of apes, as well as the innocence of children; and the things that pleaſe us moſt, are apt to make other ſorts of motions both in our faces and hearts, and very different from thoſe of lauhter.

But there remains yet one other difference between us and the reſt of our fellow creatures, which, though leſs taken notice of in the uſual reaſonings or enquiries of this kind, yet ſeems to challenge a rank and a right as due and as undiſputed as any of the others, which ſeems a very ill effect of a very good cauſe, a thorn that ever grows with a roſe, and a great debaſement of the greateſt prerogative mankind can pretend to, which is that of reaſon: what I mean is, a certain reſtleſneſs

leſneſs of mind and thought, which ſeems univerſally and inſeparably annexed to our very natures and conſtitutions, unſatisfied with what we are, or what we at preſent poſſeſs and enjoy, ſtill raving after ſomething paſt or to come, and by griefs, regrets, deſires, or fears, ever troubling and corrupting the pleaſures of our ſenſes and of our imaginations, the enjoyments of our fortunes, or the beſt production of our reaſons, and thereby the content and happineſs of our lives.

This is the true, natural, and common ſource of ſuch perſonal diſſatisfactions, ſuch domeſtic complaints, and ſuch popular diſcontents, as afflict not only our private lives, conditions, and fortunes, but even our civil ſtates and governments, and thereby conſummate the particular and general infelicity of mankind; which is enough complained of by all that conſider it in the common actions and paſſions of life, but much more in the factions, ſeditions, convulſions, and fatal revolutions that have ſo frequently, and in all ages, attended all or moſt of the governments in the world.

To theſe, of old, Sparta and Athens have been ſubject, as well as Carthage and Rome; the ſmaller kingdoms of Epire and Macedon, as well as the great Empires of Egypt and Perſia; the Monarchies, Ariſtocracies, and Democracies among the Gentiles, and even the Theocracy among the Jews, though one was inſtituted by God himſelf, and many of the others framed by the wiſeſt of mortal men. In latter ages, Venice and Holland have been infeſted by theſe diſeaſes, as well as England and France; the kingdoms of the Moors in Spain, as well as thoſe of the Goths; the Chriſtian governments, as well as the Mahometan; and thoſe of the Reformed, like thoſe of the Roman faith.

This reſtleſs humour, ſo general and natural to mankind, is a weed that grows in all ſoils and under all climates, but ſeems to thrive moſt and grow faſteſt in

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the beſt: it is raiſed eaſier by the more ſprightly wits and livelier imaginations, than by groſſer and duller conceptions; nor have the regions of Guiney and Muſcovy been ſo much over-run with it, as thoſe of Italy and Greece. The moſt ſpeculative men are the moſt forecaſting and moſt reflecting: and, the more ingenious men are, they are the more apt to trouble themſelves.

From this original fountain iſſue thoſe ſtreams of faction, that, with ſome courſe of time and accidents, overflow the wiſeſt conſtitutions of governments and laws, and many times treat the beſt Princes and trueſt Patriots like the worſt tyrants and moſt ſeditious diſturbers of their country, and bring ſuch men to ſcaffolds that deſerved ſtatues, to violent and untimely deaths that were worthy of the longeſt and the happieſt lives. If ſuch only as Phalaris and Agathocles, as Marius and Catiline, had fallen victims to faction, or to popular rage, we ſhould have little to wonder or complain; but we find the wiſeſt, the beſt of men, have been ſacrificed to the ſame idols. Solon and Pythagoras have been allowed as ſuch in their own and in ſucceeding ages; and yet the one was baniſhed, and the other murdered, by factions that two ambitious men had raiſed in commonwealths which thoſe two wiſe and excellent men themſelves had framed. The two Gracchi, the trueſt lovers of their country, were miſerably ſlain: Scipio and Hannibal, the greateſt and moſt glorious Captains of their own, or perhaps any other ages, and the beſt ſervants of thoſe two great commonwealths, were baniſhed or diſgraced by the factions of their countries: and to come nearer home, Barnevelt and De Wit in Holland, Sir Thomas More, and the Earl of Eſſex, and Sir Walter Raleigh in England, eſteemed the moſt extraordinary perſons of their time, fell all bloody ſacrifices to the factions of their courts or their countries.

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There is no theme ſo large and ſo eaſy, no diſcourſe ſo common and ſo plauſible, as the faults or corruptions of governments, the miſcarriages or complaints of Magiſtrates; none ſo eaſily received, and ſpread, among good and well-meaning men, none ſo miſchievouſly raiſed and employed by ill, nor turned to worſe and more diſguiſed ends. No governments, no times, were ever free from them, nor ever will be, till all men are wiſe, good, and eaſily contented. No civil or politic conſtitutions can be perfect or ſecure, whilſt they are compoſed of men that are for the moſt part paſſionate, intereſted, unjuſt, or unthinking, but generally and naturally reſtleſs and unquiet; diſcontented with the preſent, and what they have, raving after the future, or ſomething they want, and thereby ever diſpoſed and deſirous to change.

This makes the firſt and univerſal default of all governments; and this made the philoſophers of old, inſtead of ſeeking or accepting the public magiſtracies or offices of their countries, employ their time and care to improve men's reaſons, to temper their affections, to allay their paſſions, to diſcover the vanity or the miſchief of pride and ambition, of riches and of luxury; believing the only way, to make their countries happy and ſafe, was to make men wiſe and good, juſt and reaſonable. But as nature will ever be too ſtrong for art, ſo theſe excellent men ſucceeded as little in their deſign, as lawgivers have done in the frame of any perfect government, and all of them left the world much as they found it, ever unquiet, ſubject to changes and revolutions, as our minds are to diſcontents, and our bodies to diſeaſes.

Another cauſe of diſtempers in ſtate, and diſcontents under all governments, is the unequal condition that muſt neceſſarily fall to the ſhare of ſo many and ſo different men that compoſe them. In great multitudes, few in compariſon are born to great titles or

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great eſtates; few can be called to public charges and employments of dignity or power, and few by their induſtry and conduct arrive at great degrees of wealth and fortune: and every man ſpeaks of the fair as his own market goes in it. All are eaſily ſatisfied with themſelves and their own merit, though they are not ſo with their fortune; and, when they ſee others in better condition whom they eſteem leſs deſerving, they lay it upon the ill conſtitution of government, the partiality or humour of Princes, the negligence or corruption of Miniſters. The common ſort of people always find fault with the Times, and ſome muſt always have reaſon, for the merchant gains by peace, and the ſoldiers by war; the ſhepherd by wet ſeaſons, and the ploughman by dry: when the city fills, the country grows empty; and, while trade increaſes in one place, it decays in another. In ſuch variety of conditions and courſes of life, mens deſigns and intereſts muſt be oppoſite one to another, and both cannot ſucceed alike: whether the winner laughs or no the loſer will complain, and, rather than quarrel at his own ſkill or fortune, will do it with the dice, or thoſe he plays with, or the maſter of the houſe. When any body is angry, ſome body muſt be in fault; and thoſe of ſeaſons which cannot be remedied, of accidents that could not be prevented, of miſcarriages that could not be foreſeen, are often laid upon the Government, and, whether right or wrong, have the ſame effect of raiſing or increaſing the common and popular diſcontents.

Beſides the natural propenſion, and the inevitable occaſions of complaint from the diſpoſitions of men, or accidents of fortune; there are others that proceed from the very nature of government. None was ever perfect, or free from very many and very juſt exceptions. The republics of Athens, Carthage, and Rome, ſo renowned in the world, and which have furniſhed

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ſtory with the greateſt actions and perſons upon the records of time, were but long courſes of diſorder and viciſſitude, perpetually rolling between the oppreſſions of Nobles, the ſeditions of People, the inſolence of Soldiers, or tyranny of Commanders. All places and ages of the world yield the ſame examples; and if we travel as far as China and Peru, to find the beſt compoſed frames of government that ſeem to have been in the world, yet we meet with none that has not been ſubject to the ſame concuſſions, fallen at one time or other under the ſame convulſions of ſtate, either by civil diſſenſions, or by foreign invaſions.

But how can it otherwiſe fall out, when the very ideas of government have been liable to exceptions, as well as their actual frames and conſtitutions? The republic of Plato, the principality of Hobbes, the rotation of Oceana, have been all indicted and found guilty of many faults, or of great infirmities. Nay, the very kinds of government have never yet been out of diſpute, but equal faults have by ſome or other been laid to the charge of them all: an abſolute monarchy ruins the People; one limited endangers the Prince; an ariſtocracy is ſubject to emulations of the Great, and oppreſſions of the meaner ſort; a democracy to popular tumults and convulſions; and, as tyranny commonly ends in popular tumults, ſo do theſe often in tyranny, whilſt factions are ſo violent that they will truſt any thing elſe rather than one another.

So as a perfect ſcheme of government ſeems as endleſs and as uſeleſs a ſearch, as that of the univerſal medicine, or the philoſopher's ſtone; never any of them out of our fancy, never any like to be in our poſſeſſion.

Could we ſuppoſe a body politic framed perfect in its firſt conception or inſtitution, yet it muſt fall into decays, not only from the force of accidents, but even from the very ruſt of time; and, at certain pe-

riods, muſt be furbiſhed up, or reduced to its firſt principles, by the appearance and exerciſe of ſome great virtues or ſome great ſeverities. This the Florentines in their republic termed *ripigliare il Stato*, aud the Romans often attempted it by introducing Agrarian laws, but could never atchieve it; they rather inflamed their diſſenſions by new feuds between the richer and poorer ſort.

There is one univerſal diviſion in all ſtates, which is between the innocent and criminals; and another between ſuch as are, in ſome meaſure, contented with what they poſſeſs by inheritance, or what they expect from their own abilities, induſtry, or parſimony; and others, who, diſſatisfied with what they have, and not truſting to thoſe innocent ways of acquiring more, muſt fall to others, and paſs from juſt to unjuſt, from peaceable to violent. The firſt deſire ſafety, and to keep what they have; the ſecond are content with dangers, in hope to get what others legally poſſeſs: one loves the preſent ſtate and government, and endeavours to ſecure it; the other deſires to end this game, and ſhuffle for a new: one loves fixed laws, and the other arbitrary power; yet the laſt, when they have gained enough by factions and diſorders, by rapine and violence, come then to change their principles with their fortunes, and grow friends to eſtabliſh orders and fixed laws. So the Normans of old, when they had divided the ſpoils of the Engliſh lands and poſſeſſions, grew bold defenders of the ancient Saxon cuſtoms, or common laws of the kingdom, againſt the encroachments of their own kings. So of latter days it was obſerved that Cromwell's officers in the army, who were at firſt for burning all records, for levelling of lands while they had none of their own; yet, when afterwards they were grown rich and landed men, they fell into the praiſe of the Engliſh laws, and to cry up Magna Charta, as our anceſtors had done with much better grace.

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But laws ſerve to keep men in order when they are firſt well agreed and inſtituted, and afterwards continue to be well executed. Diſcontents, diſorders, and civil diſſenſions much more frequently ariſe from want or miſcarriage in the laſt than in the former. Some excellent lawgiver, or ſenate, may invent and frame ſome excellent conſtitution of government; but none can provide that all magiſtrates or officers neceſſary to conduct or ſupport it ſhall be wiſe men or good; or, if they are both, ſhall have ſuch care and induſtry, ſuch application and vigour as their offices require. Now, were the conſtitution of any government never ſo perfect, the laws never ſo juſt; yet, if the adminiſtration be ill, ignorant, or corrupt, too rigid or too remiſs, too negligent or ſevere, there will be more juſt occaſions given of diſcontent and complaint, than from any weakneſs or fault in the original conception or inſtitution of government. For it may perhaps be concluded, with as much reaſon as other themes of the like nature, that thoſe are generally the beſt governments where the beſt men govern; and, let the ſort or ſcheme be what it will, thoſe are ill governments where ill men govern, and are generally employed in the offices of ſtate. Yet this is an evil under the ſun, to which all things under the ſun are ſubject, not only by accident, but even by natural diſpoſitions, which can very hardly be altered, nor ever were, that we read of, unleſs in that ancient government of the Chineſe empire, eſtabliſhed upon the deepeſt and wiſeſt foundations of any that appears in ſtory.

How can a prince always chuſe well ſuch as he employs, when men's diſpoſitions are ſo eaſily miſtaken, and their abilities too? how deceitful are appearances? how falſe are men's profeſſions? how hidden are their hearts? how diſguiſed their principles? how uncertain their humours? many men are good and eſteemed when they are private, ill and hated when they are

in office ; honeſt and contented when they are poor, covetous and violent when they grow rich : they are bold one day, and cautious another ; active at one time of their lives, and lazy the reſt ; ſometimes purſue their ambition, and ſometimes their pleaſure ; nay, among ſoldiers, ſome are brave one day and cowards another, as great captains have told me on their own experience and obſervation. Gravity often paſſes for wiſdom, wit for ability ; what men ſay for what they think, and boldneſs of talk for boldneſs of heart ; yet they are often found to be very different. Nothing is ſo eaſily cheated, nor ſo commonly miſtaken, as vulgar opinion ; and many men come out, when they come into great and public employments ; the weakneſs of whoſe heads or hearts would never have been diſcovered, if they had kept within their private ſpheres of life.

Beſides, princes or ſtates cannot run into every corner of their dominions, to look out perſons fit for their ſervice, or that of the public : they cannot ſee far with their own eyes, nor hear with their own ears ; and muſt for the moſt part do both with thoſe of other men, or elſe chuſe among ſuch ſmaller numbers as are moſt in their way ; and theſe are ſuch, generally, as make their court, or give their attendance, in order to advance themſelves to honours, to fortunes, to places and employments ; and are uſually the leaſt worthy of them, and better ſervants to themſeves than the government. The needy, the ambitious, the half-witted, the proud, the covetous, are ever reſtleſs to get into public employments, and many others that are uneaſy or ill entertained at home. The forward, the buſy, the bold, the ſufficient, purſue their game with more paſſion, endeavour, application, and thereby often ſucceed where better men would fail. In the courſe of my obſervation I have found no talent of ſo much advantage among men, towards their growing great

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or rich, as a violent and reſtleſs paſſion and purſuit for one or the other : and whoſoever ſets his heart and thoughts wholly upon ſome one thing muſt have very little wit, or very little luck, to fail. Yet all theſe cover their ends with moſt worthy pretences, and thoſe noble ſayings, That men are not born for themſelves, and muſt ſacrifice their lives for the public, as well as their time and their health : and thoſe who think nothing leſs are ſo uſed to ſay ſuch fine things, that ſuch who truly believe them are almoſt aſhamed to own it. In the mean time, the noble, the wiſe, the rich, the modeſt, thoſe are eaſy in their conditions or their minds, thoſe who know moſt of the world and themſelves, are not only careleſs, but often averſe from entering into public charges or employments, unleſs upon the neceſſities of their country, commands of their prince, or inſtances of their friends. What is to be done in this caſe, when ſuch as offer themſelves, and purſue, are not worth having, and ſuch as are moſt worthy, will neither offer, nor perhaps accept?

There is yet one difficulty more, which ſometimes arrive like an ill ſeaſon or great barrenneſs in a country : ſome ages produce many great men and few great occaſions ; other times, on the contrary, raiſe great occaſions, and few or no great men : and that ſometimes happens to a country, which was ſaid by the fool of Brederode ; who going about the fields, with the motions of one ſowing corn, was aſked what he ſowed ; he ſaid, I ſow fools, the other replied, why do you not ſow wiſe men? 'Why,' ſaid the fool, 'C'eſt 'que la terre ne les porte pas.' In ſome places and times, the races of men may be ſo decayed, by the infirmities of birth itſelf, from the diſeaſes or diſaffection of parents, may be ſo depraved by the vicioufneſs or negligence of education, by licentious cuſtoms, and luxuries of youth, by ill examples of princes, parents, and magiſtrates, or by lewd and corrupt principles, ge-

nerally infuſed and received among a people, that it may be hard for the beſt princes and miniſters to find ſubjects fit for the command of armies, or great charges of the ſtate; and, if theſe are ill ſupplied, there will be always too juſt occaſion given for exception and complaints againſt the government, though it be never ſo well framed and inſtituted.

Theſe defects and infirmities, either natural or accidental, make way for another; which is more artificial, but of all others the moſt dangerous. For when, upon any of theſe occaſions, complaints and diſcontents are ſown among well-meaning men, they are ſure to be cultivated by others that are ill and intereſted, and who cover their own ends under thoſe of the public, and, by the good and ſervice of the nation, mean nothing but their own. The practice begins of knaves upon fools, of artificial and crafty men upon the ſimple and the good; theſe eaſily follow, and are caught, while the others lay trains, and purſue a game, wherein they deſign no other ſhare, than of toil and danger to their company, but the gain and the quarry wholly to themſelves.

They blow up ſparks that fall in by chance, or could not be avoided, or elſe throw them in wherever they find the ſtubble is dry: they find out miſcarriages wherever they are, and forge them often where they are not; they quarrel firſt with the officers, and then with the prince or the ſtate; ſometimes with the execution of laws, and at others with the inſtitutions, how ancient and ſacred ſoever. They make fears paſs for dangers, and appearances for truth; repreſent misfortunes for faults, and mole-hills for mountains; and by the perſuaſions of the vulgar, and pretences of patriots, or lovers of their country, at the ſame time they undermine the credit and authority of the government, and ſet up their own. This raiſes a faction between thoſe ſubjects that would ſup-

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port it, and thoſe that would ruin it; or rather between thoſe that poſſeſs the honours and advantages of it, and thoſe that, under the pretence of reforming, deſign only or chiefly to change the hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the reſt.

When this fire is kindled, both ſides inflame it; all care of the public is laid aſide, and nothing is purſued, but the intereſt of the factions: all regard of merit is loſt in perſons employed, and thoſe only choſen, that are true to the party; and all the talent required is, to be hot, to be heady, to be violent of one ſide or other. When theſe ſtorms are raiſed, the wiſe and the good are either diſgraced or laid aſide, or retire of themſelves, and leave the ſcene free to ſuch as are moſt eager, or moſt active to get upon the ſtage, or find moſt men ready to help them up.

From theſe ſeeds grow popular commotions, and at laſt ſeditions, which ſo often end in ſome fatal periods of the beſt governments, in ſo ſtrong convulſions and revolutions of ſtate; and many times make way for new inſtitutions and forms, never intended by thoſe who firſt began or promoted them; and often determine either in ſetting up ſome tyranny at home, or bringing in ſome conqueſt from abroad. For the animoſities and hatred of the factions grow ſo great, that they will ſubmit to any power, the moſt arbitrary and foreign, rather than yield to an oppoſite party at home; and are of the mind of a great man in one of our neighbouring countries, who, upon ſuch a conjuncture, ſaid, if he muſt be eaten up, he would rather it ſhould be by wolves than by rats.

It imports little, from what poor ſmall ſprings the torrents of faction firſt ariſe, if they are fed with care, and improved by induſtry, and meet with diſpoſitions fitted to receive and embrace them. That of the Prafini and Veneti was as violent and fatal at Conſtantinople, as that of the Guelphs and Gibellins in Italy: though

though one began only upon the divided opinions and affections, about two publick theatres, or play-houſes, called the blue, and the ſea-green: whereas the other pretended the right of inveſting biſhops to be in the emperor or in the pope. Whatever the beginnings of factions are, the conſequences are the ſame, and the ends too, of thoſe chiefly engaged in them, which is to act the ſame part in different maſks, and to purſue private paſſions or intereſts, under public pretences.

Upon the ſurvey of theſe diſpoſitions in mankind, and theſe conditions of government, it ſeems much more reaſonable to pity, than to envy the fortunes and dignities of princes or great miniſters of ſtate; and to leſſen and excuſe their venial faults, or at leaſt their misfortunes, rather than to increaſe or make them worſe by ill colours and repreſentations. For, as every prince ſhould govern, as he would deſire to be governed, if he were a ſubject, ſo every ſubject ſhould obey, as he would deſire to be obeyed, if he were a prince; ſince this moral principle of doing as you would be done by, is certainly the moſt indiſputed and univerſally allowed of any other in the world, how ill ſoever it may be practiſed by particular men.

It would be hard to leave princes and ſtates with ſo ill proſpects and preſages of eaſe or ſucceſs in the adminiſtration of their governments, as theſe reflexions muſt afford them; and therefore I will not end this eſſay, without ſome offers at their ſafety, by fixing ſome marks like lights upon a coaſt, by which their ſhips may avoid, at leaſt, known rocks or ſands, where wrecks or dangers have been uſually obſerved: for, to thoſe that come from heaven by ſtorms, or the fatal periods decreed above, all the world muſt ſubmit.

The firſt ſafety of princes and ſtates lies in avoiding all councils or deſigns of innovation, in ancient and eſtabliſhed forms and laws, eſpecially thoſe concerning liberty,

liberty, property, and religion (which are the poſſeſſions men will ever have moſt at heart); and thereby leaving the channel of known and common juſtice clear and undiſturbed.

The ſecond, in purſuing the true and common intereſt of the nation they govern, without eſpouſing thoſe of any party or faction; or, if theſe are ſo formed in a ſtate, that they muſt incline to one or other, then to chooſe and favour that which is moſt popular, or wherein the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of the people appeared to be engaged. For, as the end of government ſeems to be ſalus populi, ſo the ſtrength of the government is the conſent of the people; which made that maxim of vox populi, vox Dei: that is, the governors, who are few, will ever be forced to follow the ſtrength of the governed, who are many, let them be either people or armies, by which they govern.

A third is, the countenancing and introducing, as far as is poſſible, the cuſtoms and habits of induſtry and parſimony into the countries they govern; for frugal and induſtrious men are uſually ſafe and friendly to the eſtabliſhed government, as the idle and expenſive are dangerous from their humours or neceſſities.

The laſt conſiſts in preventing dangers from abroad; for foreign dangers raiſe fears at home, and fears among the people raiſe jealouſies of the prince or ſtate, and give them ill opinions, either of their abilities, or their good intentions. Men are apt to think well of themſelves, and of their nation, of their courage and their ſtrength; and if they ſee it in danger, they lay the fault upon the weakneſs, ill conduct, or corruption of their governors, the ill orders of ſtate, ill choice of officers, or ill diſcipline of armies; and nothing makes a diſcontent or ſedition ſo fatal at home, as an invaſion, or the threats and proſpect of one from abroad.

Upon theſe four wheels, the chariot of a ſtate may, in all appearance, drive eaſy and ſafe, or at leaſt not be too much ſhaken by the uſual roughneſs of ways, unequal humours of men, or any common accidents: further is not to be provided; for though the beginnings of great fires are often diſcovered, and thereby others eaſily prevented with care; yet ſome may be thrown in from engines far off, and out of ſight; others may fall from heaven: and it is hard to determine whether ſome conſtellations of celeſtial bodies, or inflammations of air from meteors or comets, may not have a powerful effect upon the minds, as well as the bodies, of men, upon the diſtempers and diſeaſes of both, and thereby upon heats and humours of vulgar minds, and the commotions and ſeditions of a people who happen to be moſt ſubjected to their influence: in ſuch caſes, when the flame breaks out, all that can be done is, to remove as faſt as can be all materials that are like to increaſe it, to employ all ways and methods of quenching it, to repair the breaches and loſſes it has occaſioned, and to bear with patience what could not be avoided, or cannot be remedied.

SECT. II.

I Cannot leave this ſubject of popular diſcontents, without reflecting and bewailing, how much and how often our unfortunate country has been infeſted by them, and their fatal conſequences, in the miſeries and deplorable effects of ſo many foreign and civil wars, as theſe have occaſioned, and ſeem ſtill to threaten: how often they have ruined or changed the crown; how much blood they have drawn of the braveſt ſubjects; how they have ravaged and defaced the nobleſt iſland of the world, and which ſeems, from the happy ſituation, the temper of climate, the fertility of ſoil, the numbers and native courage of the inhabi-

tants,

tants, to have been deſtined by God and nature, for the greateſt happineſs and ſecurity at home, and to give laws, or balance at leaſt, to all their neighbours abroad.

Theſe popular diſcontents, with the factions and diſſentions they have raiſed, made way for the Roman, Saxon, and Norman conqueſts: theſe drew ſo much blood, and made ſo great deſolations in the barons wars during the reigns of ſeveral kings, till the time of Edward III. upon diſputes between prerogative and liberty, or the rights of the crown, and thoſe of the ſubject. Theſe involved the nation in perpetual commotions or civil wars, from the reign of Richard II. to Henry VII. upon the diſputes of right and title to the crown, between the two roſes, or the races of York and Lancaſter, while the popular diſcontents at the preſent reign made way for the ſucceſſion of a new pretender, more than any regards of right or juſtice in their title, which ſerved only to cover the bent and humour of the people to ſuch a change. In the time of Henry VIII. began the differences of religion, which tore the nation into two mighty factions, and, under the names of Papiſt and Proteſtant, ſtruggled in her bowels with many various events and many conſequences, many fatal effects, and more fatal dangers, till the Spaniſh invaſion in 1588. After which, the balance of the parties grew ſo unequal in weight and number, as to calm and ſecure the reſt of Queen Elizabeth's time: yet before the end of her reign began a new faction in the ſtate to appear and ſwell againſt the eſtabliſhed government of the church, under pretence of a further reformation, after the examples of Geneva or Stratſburg, from whence the chief of this party, during the flight or baniſhment from the cruelties of Queen Mary's reign, drew their protection and their opinions, in defiance of eccleſiaſtical powers and dignities, as well as ſeveral ceremonies, ſuch as the

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ſurplice, the altar, and the croſs, with others yet more indifferent. This faction increaſed in number, and popular vogue or eſteem, all the reign of King James; and, ſeeming to look either dangerouſly or unkindly upon the crown, gave occaſion to the court of endeavouring to introduce into the church and ſtate ſome opinions the moſt contrary to thoſe of the Puritan, or diſſenting faction: as that of divine right, and thereby more arbitrary power in kings; and that of paſſive obedience in the ſubjects. Theſe opinions or pretences divided the nation into parties, ſo equal in number or in ſtrength, by the weight of the eſtabliſhed government on the one hand, and the popular humour on the other, as produced thoſe long miſeries, and fatal revolutions of the crown and nation, between 1641 and 1660, when his majeſty's happy reſtoration ſeemed to have given a final period to all new commotions or revolutions in this kingdom, and to all diſcontents that were conſiderable enough to raiſe or foment any new diviſions. How they have been ſince revived, and ſo well improved, for what ends, and with what conſequences upon the ſafety, honour, and power of this kingdom, let thoſe anſwer either to God or man, who have been the authors or promoters of ſuch wiſe councils, and ſuch noble deſigns. It is enough for me to have endeavoured the union of my country, whilſt I continued in public employments; and to have left the buſy ſcene, in the fulleſt career of favour and of fortune, rather than have any part in the diviſions or factions of our nation, when I ſaw them grow incurable. A true and honeſt phyſician is excuſed for leaving his patient, when he finds the diſeaſe grown deſperate, and can, by his attendance, expect only to receive his own fees, without any hopes or appearance of deſerving them, or contributing further to his health or recovery.

A weak or unequal faction, in any ſtate, may ſerve perhaps to enliven or animate the vigour of a government: but, when it grows equal, or near proportioned in ſtrength or number, and irreconcilable by the animoſities of the parties, it cannot end without ſome violent criſis and convulſion of the ſtate, and hardly without ſome new revolution, and perhaps final ruin, of the government, in caſe a foreign invaſion enters upon the breaches of civil diſtractions.

But ſuch fatal effects of popular diſcontents, either paſt or to come, in this floating iſland, will be a worthy ſubject of ſome better hiſtory than has been yet written of England. I ſhall here only regret one unhappy effect of our diſcontents and diviſions, that will ever attend them, even when they are not violent or dangerous enough to diſturb our peace; which is, that they divert our greateſt councils from falling upon the conſultations and purſuits of ſeveral acts and inſtitutions, which ſeem to be the moſt uſeful and neceſſary for the common intereſt and public good of the kingdom, without regard to any partialities, which buſy the councils as well as actions of all factious times.

I ſhall therefore trace, upon this paper, the rough draught of ſome ſuch notions as I have had long and often in my head, but never found a ſeaſon to purſue them, nor of late years ever believed it could fall out in the courſe of my life. And, having long ſince retired from all public employments, I ſhall, with this eſſay, take leave of all public thoughts.

The firſt act I eſteem of greateſt and moſt general uſe, if not neceſſary, is, that whereas the ſafety, honour, and wealth of this kingdom depends chiefly on our naval forces, a diſtinct and perpetual revenue may be applied, and appropriated by act of parliament, for the maintaining of fifty men of war, with ten thouſand ſeamen, to be always either at ſea, or ready in port to ſail upon all occaſions; this navy to be ſo proportioned,

portioned, by the ſeveral rates of ſhips, as may ſerve in peace to ſecure our trade from the danger of all Turkiſh piracies, or ſudden inſults or inſolencies of our neighbours; may aſſert the dominion and ſafety of the narrow ſeas; and, in time of war, may, with the addition of thirty capital ſhips more, compoſe a fleet ſtrong enough, with the bleſſing of God and a juſt cauſe, to fight a fair battle with any fleet the ſtrongeſt of our neighbours can pretend to ſet out: for I am of opinion, that fourſcore Engliſh men of war well manned, with the conduct of good officers, and hearts of our ſeamen, may boldly engage the greateſt of them, whenever they come to a cloſe fight; which the built of our ſhips, and courage of our ſeamen, is more proper and able to maintain than any other nation of the world. The conſtant charge of fifty ſuch ſhips may amount to ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year; and, if this exceeded the current charge, the reſt might be applied to repair old or build new ſhips. One half might be appropriated to this uſe out of the cuſtoms, and the other half raiſed by ſome clear tax upon the houſes or lands of each pariſh, collected by the churchwardens, each half year, and by them paid into the ſheriff of each county, and by him into the treaſury of the navy. This ſhould be fixed in ſome place of the city, and managed by three commiſſioners, who ſhould upon ſalaries (and without fees) be ſworn to iſſue it out to no other uſes than thoſe above mentioned, and incur the penalties of treaſon in caſe they failed. Such a tax would be inſenſible, and paſs but as a ſmall quit-rent, which every man would be content to pay towards the guard of the ſeas; the money would circulate at home among ourſelves, and would ſecure and increaſe the vaſt wealth of our trade. But it is unaccountable what treaſures it would ſave this nation, by preventing ſo many wars or quarrels abroad as we have been expoſed to by our neighbours inſolencies,

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upon our being diſarmed or ill-provided at ſea. Nor would ſuch a fleet conſtantly maintained be of ſmall effect to poiſe any factions or diſcontents at home, but would at leaſt leave us to compoſe our own differences, or decide our quarrels without the dangerous intervention or invaſion of any foreign power.

The ſecond is, that whereas the ſtrength and wealth of any country conſiſts chiefly in the numbers and riches of the inhabitants, and theſe are much encouraged and encreaſed by the ſecurity of what eſtates men ſhall be able to gain by their induſtry and parſimony, or of what foreigners ſhall be deſirous to bring from abroad, upon any dangers or diſlikes of their own countries or governments; any act may paſs for public regiſtries of lands, by which all purchaſers or mortgagees may be ſecured of all monies they ſhall lay out upon ſuch occaſions. I dare hardly venture to ſay how great ſums of money I could have ſent over during my embaſſies abroad, if I could have propoſed any ſafe and eaſy ways of ſecuring them for the owners, whereof many were reſolved to follow their effects, if they might have had this juſt encouragement. I know very well how many arguments will be raiſed againſt ſuch an act, and chiefly by the lawyers, whoſe unreaſonable gains ariſe from ſuch ſuits and diſputes as would be avoided by ſuch an inſtitution. For this reaſon, they will ever entangle any ſuch propoſal not only with many difficulties, but, by their nice and ſubtle reaſonings, will pretend even impoſſibilities. I ſhall not here trouble myſelf to anſwer all I have heard, and all I believe they can ſay upon this ſubject, farther than by one common maxim, that whatever has been may be; and, ſince we know this to have been practiſed with infinite advantage ever ſince Charles V.'s time, both in the Spaniſh and United Provinces of the Netherlands, no man can pretend to doubt but with the ſame ſenſe, application, and public intentions in our government,

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it may likewiſe be eſtabliſhed here. There is ſomething equivalent to it in France, which they call vendre par decret, and which ends all diſputes or pretences ; and likewiſe in Scotland : ſo as it is a very hard calumny upon our ſoil or climate, to affirm that ſo excellent a fruit, which proſpers among all our neighbours, will not grow here.

Beſides, there needs no more than to make ſuch a regiſtry only voluntary, to avoid all the difficulties that can be raiſed, and which are not too captious, or too trivial to take notice of. The difference of value between thoſe lands men ſhould chuſe to regiſter, and thoſe left looſe, would ſoon evince the benefit of ſuch an act, as well as the money it would draw from abroad,

One argument I have met with from ſome perſons who always value themſelves to their country by jealouſies of the crown, and that is the increaſe of offices in the king's diſpoſal : but rather than ſuch a thing ſhould fail, and if all ſcruples muſt be ſatisfied, the regiſters in each county may be choſen by the county court, and their patents may be always granted during good behaviour.

Another act, which ſeems neceſſary or agreeable to our conſtitution. and at all ſeaſons, both of health and diſtempers in the ſtate, is a proviſion for the better employing all thoſe vaſt ſums of monies, which are either raiſed every year in this kingdom for the maintenance of the poor, or beſtowed freely upon ſuch charitable uſes. A great part of this treaſure is now embezzled, laviſhed, or feaſted away by collectors and other officers, or elſe ſo employed as rather to increaſe than relieve the poor ; whereas, if it were laid out in erecting work-houſes in each county, or in raiſing a ſtock to find continual work for ſuch as ſhould fill them (if any more ſpeedy way ſhould be found to build them) not only the impotent poor might be relieved,

lieved, but the idle and able might be forced to labour, and others who wanted it might find employment; and if this were turned chiefly upon our woollen manufacture (which ought to be ever the ſtaple trade of England, as that of linen ought to be of Ireland) it would ſoon improve to ſuch a height as to out-ſell our neighbours, and thereby advance the proportion of our exported commodities to ſuch a degree, as would by the return increaſe the treaſure of this kingdom above what it has ever been known, or can ever be by other means, than a mighty over-balance of our exported to our imported commodities. All other cares or projects, to bring in coin or bullion, are either inſignificant or temporary, if not wholly vain, and ſometimes prejudicial.

I have often thought that ſome more effectual way might be found out for preventing or ſuppreſſing of common thefts and robberies (which ſo often endanger or diſquiet the inhabitants, and infeſt the trade of this kingdom) than thoſe which are of common uſe among us. The ſanguinary laws upon theſe occaſions, as they are not of ancient date, ſo they ſeem not to agree with the mildneſs and clemency of our government in the reſt of its compoſition. Beſides, they deprive us of ſo many ſubjects, whoſe lives are every year cut off in great numbers, and which might otherwiſe be of uſe to the kingdom, whoſe ſtrength conſiſts in the number, and riches, and the labour of the inhabitants. But the worſt part of this cuſtom or inſtitution is, that they have hitherto proved without effect, and have neither extinguiſhed the humour and practice of ſuch crimes, nor leſſened the number of ſuch criminals amongſt us: nor is it indeed to be hoped or expected they ever ſhould, in a nation whoſe known and general character is, to be more fearleſs of death and dangers than any other, and more impatient of labour or of hardſhips, either in ſuffering the want,

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or making the proviſion of ſuch food and cloaths as they find or eſteem neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of their lives, or for the health, and ſtrength, and vigour of their bodies. This appears among all our troops that ſerve abroad, as indeed their only weak ſide, which makes the care of the belly the moſt neceſſary piece of conduct in the commander of an Engliſh army, who will never fail of fighting well, if they are well fed. For theſe reaſons it may ſeem probable, that the more natural and effectual way in our nation, to prevent or ſuppreſs thefts and robberies, were to change the uſual puniſhment by ſhort and eaſy deaths, into ſome others of painful and uneaſy lives, which they will find much harder to bear, and be more unwilling and afraid to ſuffer than the other. Therefore a liberty might at leaſt be left to the judges and the bench according to the difference of perſons, crimes, and circumſtances, to inflict either death, or ſome notorious mark, by ſlitting the noſe, or ſuch brands upon the cheeks, which can never be effaced by time or art; and ſuch perſons to be condemned either to ſlavery in our plantations abroad, or labour in work-houſes at home; and this either for their lives, or certain numbers of years, according to the degrees of their crimes. However, the diſtinguiſhed marks of their guilt would be not only perpetual ignominy, but diſcover them upon eſcapes, and warn others of their danger wherever they are encountered.

I do not eſteem it wholly improbable, that ſome ſuch laws as theſe forementioned may at one time or other be conſidered, at leaſt in ſome Parliament that ſhall be at leiſure from the neceſſity or urgency of more preſſing affairs, and ſhall be cool and undiſtempered from thoſe heats of faction, or animoſity of parties, as have in our age been ſo uſual within thoſe walls, and in ſo great a meaſure diverted the regards and debates of public and laſting inſtitutions, to thoſe

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of temporary proviſions or expedients upon preſent occaſions and conjunctures in the courſes or changes of our government, or diſtempers of the ſtate. But there are ſome other inſtitutions I am content to trace out upon this paper, that would make me appear either viſionary or impertinent. If I ſhould imagine they could either be reſolved in our age and country, or be made farther uſe of, than for the preſent humour of our times to cenſure and to ridicule them: yet I will ſo much expoſe myſelf to both, as to confeſs I eſteem them of great conſequence and public utility to the conſtitution of our kingdom, either for the preſent or ſucceeding ages, which ought to be the care of laws and public inſtitutions; and ſo I ſhall leave them for the next Utopian ſcheme, that ſhall be drawn by as good a man and as great wit as the laſt was left us.

The firſt is, that no man ſhould hold or enjoy at a time more than one civil office or military command in the kingdom: which is grounded upon this principle, that, as the life of all laws is the due execution of them, ſo the life and perfection of all governments is the due adminiſtration; and that, by the different degrees of this, the ſeveral forms of the other are either raiſed or debaſed more than by any difference in their original inſtitutions: ſo that perhaps it may paſs among ſo many other maxims in the politic, "That thoſe are the beſt governments which are beſt "adminiſtred, and where all offices are ſupplied by "perſons choſen to them with juſt diſtinction of merit, "and capacity for diſcharging them, and of application "to do it honeſtly and ſufficiently." That which ſeems, in my age, to have in a great meaſure deprived our government of this advantage, has not been only the partiality of princes and miniſters in the choice of perſons employed, or their negligence and want of diſtinction, upon which it is uſually laid; but alſo the

common ambition or avarice of thoſe who are choſen. For few of them, when they are gotten into an office, apply their thoughts to the execution of it, but are preſently diverted by the deſigns of getting another, and a third; and very often he, that has three, is as unquiet and diſcontented, and thereby grows as troubleſome a pretender, as when he had none at all. Whereas, if every man was ſure to have but one at a time, he would, by his application and ſufficiency in that, endeavour to deſerve a greater in ſome kind, for which that might fit him, and help to promote him.

One objection may be made againſt ſuch a law, and but one alone that I know of, beſides thoſe of particular intereſt; which is, that many offices in ſtate are of ſo ſmall revenue as not to furniſh a man with what is ſufficient for the ſupport of his life, or diſcharge of his place. But the degrees of what is called ſufficient or neceſſary are very many, and differ according to the humour and conceptions of ſeveral men; and there is no office ſo ſmall, that ſome or other will not be content to execute, for the profit, the credit, or perhaps for the buſineſs or amuſement, which ſome are as needy of as they are of the other two. Beſides, if offices were ſingle, there would be more perſons employed in a ſtate, and thereby the fewer left of that reſtleſs temper, which raiſes thoſe private diſcontents, that, under the maſk of public good, of reforming abuſes, or redreſſing grievances (to which perhaps the nature of all government is incident) raiſe factions that ripen into the greateſt diſturbances and revolutions.

The ſecond of theſe three imaginary conſtitutions is raiſed by the ſpeculation, how much the number of inhabitants falls below what the extent of our territory, and fertility of our ſoil, makes it capable of entertaining and ſupporting with all neceſſaries and conveniencies of life. Our people have not only been drained by

by many civil or foreign wars, and one furious devouring peſtilence, within theſe fifty years, but by great numbers of Engliſh reſorting into Ireland upon the deſolations arrived there. Yet theſe are tranſitory taxes upon the bodies of men, as the expences of war are upon their eſtates; arrive caſually, and continue but for certain periods. There are others perpetual, and which are, like conſtant rents, paid every year out of the ſtock of people in this kingdom; ſuch as are drained off by furniſhing the colonies of ſo many plantations in the Weſt-Indies, and ſo great navigations into the Eaſt, as well as the South; which climates are very dangerous and fatal to tempers born and bred in one ſo different as ours. Beſides, the vaſt trade by ſea we drive into all parts of the world, by the inclemency of ſeaſons, the inconſtancy and rage of that element, with the ventrous humour of our mariners, coſts this iſland many brave lives every year, which, if they ſtaid at home, might ſerve the preſent age, and go far to ſupply the next. The only way of recovering ſuch loſſes is by the invitation of foreigners, and the increaſe of natives among us.

The firſt is to be made by the eaſineſs of naturalization, and of freedon in our corporations, by allowing ſuch liberty in different profeſſions of religion, as cannot be dangerous to the government. By a regiſtry of lands, which may furniſh eaſy ſecurities for money, that ſhall be brought over by ſtrangers; but chiefly by the wiſdom, ſteadineſs, and ſafety of our government, which make, the great reſort of men, who live under arbitrary laws and taxes, or in countries ſubject to ſudden and frequent invaſions of ambitious and powerful neighbours.

For the increaſe of our natives, it ſeems as reaſonable a caſe among us, as it has been in ſo many other conſtitutions of laws, eſpecially the antient Jews and Romans, who were the moſt populous of any other

nations, upon ſuch extent of territory as they poſſeſſed in Syria and Italy.

This care is reduced into thoſe two points, upon which all laws ſeem to turn, reward and puniſhment: the firſt is provided by privileges granted to a certain number of children, and by maintenance allotted out of the public, to ſuch as too much burden poor families: for theſe, public work-houſes in each county would be a certain proviſion, which might furniſh work for all that want, as well as force it upon idle or criminal perſons, and thereby infinitely increaſe the ſtock and riches of the nation, which ariſes more out of the labour of men, than the growth of the ſoil. The other hinge of puniſhment might turn upon a law, whereby all men who did not marry, by the age of five-and-twenty, ſhould pay the third part of their revenue to ſome public uſes, ſuch as the building of ſhips and public work-houſes, and raiſing a ſtock for maintaining them. This ſeems more neceſſary in our age, from the late humour (introduced by licentiouſneſs) of ſo many mens marrying late or never, and would not only increaſe the people, but alſo turn the vein of that we call natural to that of legal propagation, which has ever been encouraged and honoured, as the other has been diſfavoured by all inſtitutions of government.

The next of my viſions, upon this public theme, concerns the improving our races of nobility and gentry, as the other does increaſing the number of our people in general. I will not ſay they are much impaired within theſe forty or fifty years, though I have heard others lament it, by their obſervation of many ſucceſſive parliaments, wherein they have ſerved; but no man I ſuppoſe will doubt their being capable of being improved, or think that care might not as well be taken for men by public inſtitutions, as it is for the races of other creatures by private endeavours. The

weakneſs

weakneſs of children, both in their bodies and minds, proceeds not only from ſuch conſtitutions or qualities in the parents, but alſo from the ill conſequences upon generation, by marriages contracted without affection, choice, or inclination (which is allowed by naturaliſts upon reaſon as well as experience); theſe contracts would never be made, but by mens avarice, and greedineſs of portions with the women they marry, which is grown among us to that degree, as to ſurmount and extinguiſh all other regards or deſires: ſo that our marriages are made, juſt like other common bargains and ſales, by the mere conſideration of intereſt or gain, without any of love or eſteem, of birth or of beauty itſelf, which ought to be the true ingredients of all happy compoſitions of this kind, and of all generous productions. Yet this cuſtom is of no ancient date in England; and I think I remember, within leſs than fifty years, the firſt noble families that married into the city for downright money, and thereby introduced by degrees this public grievance, which has ſince ruined ſo many eſtates by the neceſſity of giving great portions to daughters; impaired many families by the weak or mean productions of marriage, made without any of that warmth and ſpirit that is given them, by force of inclination and perſonal choice; and extinguiſhed many great ones by the averſion of the perſons who ſhould have continued them. I know no remedy for this evil under our ſun, but a law providing that no woman of what quality ſoever ſhall have the value of above two thouſand pounds for her portion in marriage, unleſs ſhe be an heireſs; and that no ſuch, above the value of two hundred pounds a-year; ſhall marry to any but younger brothers.

To this, mens general hopes of making their fortunes by wives, would be turned to other courſes, and endeavours more uſeful to the public: young women would not be expoſed, by the want of fortunes, and

deſpair of marrying without them: noble families would not be exhauſted by competition with thoſe of meaner allay, in the point of portions; marriages would be made upon more natural motives, and more generous conſiderations, than mere dirty intereſt, and increaſe of riches, without meaſure or end. Shape and beauty, birth and education, wit and underſtanding, gentle nature and agreeable humour, honour and virtue, would come in for their ſhare in ſuch contracts, as muſt always have ſo great an influence upon all mens lives, and their poſterity too. Beſides, ſome little damps would be given to that peſtilent humour and general miſtake of placing all felicity in the endleſs degrees of riches, which beyond a certain proportion ſuited to each rank, neither conduce to health nor pleaſure, to eaſe nor convenience. The love of money is the root of all evil; which is a truth that both morals and politics, philoſophy and divinity, reaſon and experience, all agree in; and which makes the common diſquiets of private life, and the diſturbances of public governments.

——— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,*
Auri ſacra fames!

I have not heard any part of our ancient conſtitutions ſo much complained of, as the judicature of the houſe of lords, as it is of late and uſually exerciſed; which, if carried on a little farther, and taken notice of by the houſe of commons, as much as it ſeems to be reſented by many of their members, may, for aught I know, at one time or other, occaſion a breach between the two houſes: an accident that would be, at all times, pernicious, but might, in ſome conjunctures prove fatal to the public affairs and intereſts of the kingdom.

I will not enter upon the queſtion, whether this judicature has been as ancient as the Conqueror's time; or whether it has been exerciſed in civil cauſes only

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ſince the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; both which I have known aſſerted by intelligent perſons. But, let the antiquity be what it will, and the complaints againſt it never ſo juſt, I do not ſee how the courſe or abuſes of it can be changed or remedied, but by the houſe of peers. And for this reaſon, as well as many others, it would be wiſe and generous, by ſome rules of their own, to give ſome redreſs to the complaints which are made upon this occaſion. Whether this may be done by reſtriction of caſes that ſhall be admitted to come before them, as to number or quality; or by giving conſideration to the opinion of judges, or weight to their voices; I leave to thoſe who better know the conſtitutions and forms of that houſe than I do. But this muſt be allowed, that, till the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the peerage of England was very different from what it has been ſince, or is at preſent, by the number and quality of the peers; and, for that reaſon, by the credit they had in the kingdom. For, beſides that they were anciently few, and of very noble families, they were generally poſſeſſed of great eſtates, which rendered them leſs ſubject to corruption: and men were better content to have their rights and poſſeſſions determined by perſons who had great ones of their own to loſe, and which they were in danger of by the ill adminiſtration of their offices.

Now, beſides the points of right or antiquity, and ſome others a little controverted between the lords and commons, the vulgar complaints againſt the preſent exerciſe of this judicature are; firſt, the number of the peers being very great, in proportion to what it formerly was; then, the youth of ſo many peers as ſit in judgment upon the weightieſt cauſes, wherein knowledge and experience ſeem neceſſary to judge; and the laſt, that ſo many in that houſe have very ſmall, and ſome perhaps no eſtate of land in England, contrary to the original inſtitution.

The two firſt of theſe complaints might be remedied, if the lords ſhould pleaſe to make it an order of their houſe, that no perſon ſhould have a voice in the judgment of any cauſe, before they were thirty years of age. The laſt cannot be remedied otherwiſe than by courſe of time, and a fixed reſolution in the crown to create no Baron who ſhall not, at the ſame time, entail four thouſand pounds a-year, upon that honour whilſt it continues in his family; a Viſcount, five; an Earl, ſix; a Marquis, ſeven; and a Duke eight. By this the reſpect and honour of the peerage of England would be in ſome meaſure reſtored, not only in points that concern their judicature, but in that intereſt and influence among the people, by which they have often been ſo great a ſupport to the crown in the reigns of wiſe and good kings, and to the liberties of the people in the unfortunate times of weak princes, or evil and ambitious miniſters.

Theſe ſpeculations, how imaginary ſoever, are at leaſt grounded upon the true, general, and perpetual intereſt of the nation, without any regards of parties and factions, of the neceſſities of particular times or occaſions of government. And ſuch conſtant intereſts of England there are, which laſt through all ſucceſſions of kings, or revolutions of ſtate. Of this kind, and the moſt general as well as moſt neceſſary, are, the greatneſs of our naval forces; the balance of our neighbouring powers; and our own union, by the extinction of factions among us. For our nation is too great, and too brave to be ruined by any but itſelf: and, if the number and weight of it roll one way, upon the greateſt changes that can happen, yet England will ſtill be ſafe; which is the end of all public inſtitutions, as it was of the Roman laws; *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.* To this all differing opinions, paſſions, and intereſts ſhould ſtrike ſail, and, like proud ſwelling ſtreams, though running different courſes, ſhould yet

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all make haſte into the ſea of common ſafety, from whence their ſprings are ſaid to be derived; and which would otherwiſe overflow and lay waſte the countries where they paſs. Without this pretence at leaſt, no faction would ever ſwell ſo high as to endanger a ſtate; for all of them gain their power and number to their party, by pretending to be derived from regards of common ſafety, and of tending towards it in the ſureſt or directeſt courſe.

The compariſon between a ſtate and a ſhip has been ſo illuſtrated by poets and orators, that it is hard to find any point wherein they differ; and yet they ſeem to do it in this, that, in great ſtorms and rough ſeas, if all the men and lading roll to one ſide, the ſhip will be in danger of overſetting by their weight: but, on the contrary, in the ſtorms of ſtate, if the body of the people, with the bulk of eſtates, roll on one way, the nation will be ſafe. For the reſt, the ſimilitude holds, and happens alike to the one and to the other. When a ſhip goes to ſea bound to a certain port, with a great cargo, and a numerous crew who have a ſhare in the lading as well as ſafety of the veſſel; let the weather and the gale be never ſo fair, yet, if, in the courſe ſhe ſteers, the ſhip's crew apprehend they ſee a breach of waters, which they are ſure muſt come from rocks or ſands that will endanger the ſhip unleſs the pilot changes his courſe: if the captain, the maſter, the pilot, with ſome other of the officers, tell them they are fools or ignorants, and not fit to adviſe; that there is no danger, and it belongs to themſelves to ſteer what courſe they pleaſe, or judge to be ſafe; and that the buſineſs of the crew is only to obey: if however the crew perſiſt in their apprehenſions of the danger, and the officers of the ſhip in the purſuit of their courſe, till the ſeamen will neither ſtand to their tackle, handſails, or ſuffer the pilot to ſteer as he pleaſes; what can become of this ſhip, but that either the crew

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muſt be convinced by the captain and officers, of their ſkill and care, and ſafety of their courſe; or theſe muſt comply with the common apprehenſions and humours of the ſeamen; or elſe they muſt come at laſt to fall together by the ears, and ſo to throw one another over-board, and leave the ſhip in the direction of the ſtrongeſt, and perhaps to periſh, in caſe of hard weather, for want of hands?

Juſt ſo in a ſtate, diviſions of opinion, though upon points of common intereſt or ſafety, yet, if purſued to the height, and with heat or obſtinacy enough on both ſides, muſt end in blows and civil arms, and, by their ſucceſs, leave all in the power of the ſtrongeſt rather than the wiſeſt or the beſt intentions; or perhaps expoſe it to the laſt calamity of a foreign conqueſt. But nothing, beſides the uniting of parties upon one common bottom, can ſave a ſtate in a tempeſtuous ſeaſon; and every one, both of the officers and crew, are equally concerned in the ſafety of the ſhip, as in their own, ſince, in that alone, theirs are certainly involved.

And thus I have done with theſe idle politic viſions, and, at the ſame time, with all public thoughts as well as employments: very ſorry that the ſpeculations of my mind, or actions of my life, have been of no greater ſervice to my country, which no man, I am ſure, has loved better, or eſteemed more; though my own temper, and the diſtempers of our nation, prevailed with me to leave their ſervice ſooner than perhaps was either neceſſary for me, or common with other men. But my age now, as well as my temper and long-fixed reſolutions, has made me unfit for any farther flights; which I leave to younger and abler perſons; wiſhing them the ſame intentions and greater ſucceſſes, and conjunctures more favourable to ſuch public and generous thoughts and deſigns.

A N

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine tangit
Humanos animos. ——

PREFACE.

I Have often complained that ſo ancient and noble a nation as ours, ſo renowned by the fame of their arms and exploits abroad, ſo applauded and envied for their wiſe and happy inſtitutions at home, ſo flouriſhing in arts and learning, and ſo adorned by excellent writers in other kinds, ſhould not yet have produced one good or approved general hiſtory of England. That of France has been compoſed with great induſtry by Des Serres; with judgment and candor by Mezeray. That of Spain, with great diligence and eloquent ſtyle, by Mariana. That of the Empire, with much pains and good order, as well as learning, by Pedro de Mexia: but ours have been written by ſuch mean and vulgar authors, ſo tedious in their relations, or rather collections, ſo injudicious in the choice of what was fit to be told, or to be let alone, with ſo little order, and in ſo wretched a ſtyle, that as it is a ſhame to be ignorant in the affairs of our own country, ſo it is hardly worth the time or pains to be informed; ſince for that end, a man muſt read over a library, rather than a book; and, after all, muſt be content to forget more than he remembers.

It is true, ſome parcels or ſhort periods of our hiſtory have been left us by perſons of great worth and learning, much honoured or eſteemed in their times; as part of Edward IV. *and Richard* III. *by Sir Thomas More; Henry* VII. *by Sir Francis Bacon; Henry* VIII. *by the Lord Herbert; Edward* VI. *by Sir John Haywood; and Queen Elizabeth, by Mr. Camden. There are, beſides theſe, many voluminous authors of antient times in Latin, and of modern in Engliſh, with ſome foreigners, as Froiſſart and Polidore Virgil; out of all which might be framed a full and juſt body of our general hiſtory, if collected with pains and care, and digeſted with good order; for the architect is only wanting, and not the materials for ſuch a building.*

I will confeſs, I had it in my thoughts at one time of my life, and the moſt proper for ſuch a work, to make an abridgment

abridgment of our Engliſh Story, having obſerved that Mezeray's Abrege of his own, was more eſteemed, and much more read than his larger volume; but thoſe thoughts were ſoon diverted by other employments, wherein I had the hopes, as well as the intentions, of doing ſome greater ſervices to my country. I have ſince endeavoured to engage ſome of my friends in the ſame deſign, whom I thought capable of atchieving it, but have not prevailed; ſome pretending modeſty, and others too much valuing eaſe.

Therefore to invite and encourage ſome worthy ſpirit, and true lover of our country, to purſue this attempt, I have conſented to the publiſhing of this Introduction to the Hiſtory of England, wherein I have traced a ſhort account of this iſland, the names, the inhabitants, and conſtitutions thereof, from the firſt originals, as far as I could find any ground of probable ſtory, or of fair conjecture; ſince philoſophers tell us, That none can be ſaid to know things well, who does not know them in their beginning. I have further deduced it through the great and memorable changes of names, people, cuſtoms, and laws that paſſed here, until the end of the firſt Norman reign, which made the laſt and great period of this kingdom, leaving the ſucceſſions and conſtitutions, ſince that time, ſo fixed and eſtabliſhed, as to have laſted for the ſpace of above ſix hundred years, without any conſiderable alteration from ſo long a courſe of time, or ſuch variety of events, as have ſince arrived in the world.

I have hereby beaten through all the rough and dark ways to his journey; the reſt lies fair and eaſy, through a plain and open country; and I ſhall think myſelf happy, to ſee it well purſued by ſome abler hand, for the honour of our nation, and the ſatisfaction of our own, as well as foreign readers, who ſhall be curious to know our ſtory. I wiſh it may be performed with the ſame good intentions, and with much better ſucceſs, than this ſmall endeavour of mine.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BRITAIN was by the ancients accounted the greateſt iſland of the known world, and, for aught is yet certain, may be ſo ſtill, notwithſtanding the later diſcoveries of Madagaſcar and Japan, which are by ſome brought into competition. It extends from north to ſouth about ten degrees, and about two hundred miles in the breadth of its moſt extended angles. It was anciently called Albion, which ſeems to have been ſoftened from Alpion, the word Alp in ſome of the original weſtern languages, ſignifying generally very high lands or hills, as this iſle appears to thoſe who approach it from the continent. But of thoſe times there is no certainty remains in ſtory, more than that it was ſo called, and very little known to the reſt of the world.

By the Romans, and ſome time before Cæſar, it was called Britannia; concerning which name very much debate,

debate, and no agreement, has been among the modern learned of our country, or of others. After raking into all the rubbiſh of thoſe authors, that which ſeems to me moſt probable is, that the ſtrangers who came over into this iſland upon the ſcore of traffick, from the coaſts of Gaul or Germany, called the inhabitants by one common name of Briths, given them from the cuſtom among them of painting their naked bodies and ſmall ſhields with an azure blue, which by them was called Brith, and diſtinguiſhed them from ſtrangers who came among them: from this name of the inhabitants, the Romans, upon their invaſions, conqueſts, and colonies eſtabliſhed in Gaul, which brought them firſt acquainted with this iſland, called it Britannia, by giving a Latin termination to a barbarous name, and the ſame which appears to have been uſual with them, by the appellations of many other countries, that fell under their commerce or conqueſts, as Mauritania, Luſitania, Aquitania, and ſeveral others commonly known. The curious may obſerve this care of the Romans, in giving their own terminations to many barbarous countries, and forming eaſy and pleaſant ſounds out of the harſheſt and moſt offenſive to ſuch elegant tongues and ears as theirs: I ſhall inſtance only in three, among many more, that are obvious to ſuch as pleaſe themſelves with theſe ſpeculations. The province of Britain in France was called among the natives Al Mor; which ſignified ad mare, or near the ſea; from this the Romans called it Armorica. The iſle between the branches of the Rhine, which divide for ſome diſtance before they fall into the ſea, was called by the Old Germans Vat Awe, which ſignifies fat or fruitful earth; and from this was framed the Latin word Batavia. The north-eaſt part of Scotland was by the natives called Cal Dun, which ſignifies a hill of hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the Romans gave it the name of Caledonia: all which have laſted in their language to this day.

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The Britains were little known abroad, before the firſt entrance of the Romans into their iſle, or the preparations and enquiries they made in order to that expedition: the coaſts only oppoſite to Gaul and Belgium were frequented by merchants from thence, who came thereby acquainted with them, but little with the inland provinces: and theſe were the men from whom Cæſar drew his beſt intelligence concerning the country he intended to invade.

All that we find related of them by any credible witneſſes or authority, before the Romans entered, is, that the whole country was filled with infinite numbers of people, mightily abounding in all ſorts of cattle or beaſts, both wild and tame; their houſes poorly built, and ſcattered all over the country, without obſervance of order or diſtance, by which villages are compoſed; but the Britains were placed as every man liked, and at ſmaller or greater diſtances, as they were invited by the fertility of ſoil, or the convenience of wood or of water. They lived moſt upon milk, or fleſh which they got by hunting; little upon corn, which was not in much eſteem or plenty among them. What cloaths they wore to cover any parts of their bodies, were uſually of the ſkins of beaſts; but much of their body, as arms, legs, and thighs, was left naked; and in many of them, all; what was naked, was painted with blue. This was univerſal among them, whether eſteemed an adornment, or terror to their adverſaries, or to diſtinguiſh them from all their neighbours that came among them, as friends or as enemies.

Their towns were moſt upon their coaſts, and founded for the advantage of havens, and the recourſe of ſtrangers from the continent, to buy and ſell, or exchange wares with thoſe of the iſland. Theſe inhabitants were much more civilized than thoſe of the inland country, by the commerce and frequentation of

other

other nations, eſpecially the Gauls, who had long before been civilized by the Roman colonies. The commodities exported out of the iſle, were chiefly hides and tin; which laſt was peculiar to this country, and in much uſe abroad, both in nearer and remoter regions, where this iſland was chiefly known by the product of this commodity, conveyed among them at ſo great diſtances, and ſo much in requeſt. Some ſilver they had, but none in common uſe, as having few mines, and little knowledge how to improve them, either in the digging or refining: pearls they had too, and frequently found among them, but neither clear, nor coloured like thoſe of the orient, and therefore in low eſteem among the Romans; but little iron, and that uſed either for arms, or for rings, which was a ſort of money current amongſt them; the reſt was of braſs, which was brought from abroad, and employed only for this uſe.

Their language, cuſtoms, and religion were generally the ſame with thoſe of the Gauls, before the Roman conqueſts in that province, which were much earlier than in Britain: this affinity made them frequently aſſiſt the Gauls upon the coaſts, in their wars againſt the Romans, and gave the firſt occaſion of Cæſar's invading Britain for revenge and ſafety, as well as conqueſt and glory.

Their government was like that of the ancient Gauls, of ſeveral ſmall nations under ſeveral petty princes, which ſeem the original governments of the world, and deduced from the natural force and right of a paternal dominion: ſuch were the Hords among the Goths, the Clans in Scotland, and Septs in Ireland. Whether theſe ſmall Britiſh principalities deſcended by ſucceſſion, or were elected by the advantages of age, wiſdom, or valour in the families of the prince, is not recorded. But upon great or common dangers, the chief commander of all their forces, was choſen by

common conſent in general aſſemblies; as Cæſar relates of Caſſivelaunus againſt his invaſion. The ſame was done upon their revolts againſt the Roman colonies, under Caractacus and Voadicea; for among them women were admitted to their principalities and general commands, by the right of ſucceſſion, nobility of birth, or eminence of other qualities.

Their forces conſiſted chiefly in their foot, and yet they could draw great numbers of horſe into the field upon great occaſions; they likewiſe uſed chariots in fight, which, with ſhort ſcythes faſtened to the ends of the axletrees, gave cruel wounds, great terror, made fierce charges upon the ranks of their enemies, and were of much force to break, or to diſorder them. Their common arms were ſmall ſhields, but very large ſwords, which expreſſed more deſire of wounding their enemies than defending themſelves. They were eſteemed a very brave and fierce people, till their bodies came to be ſoftened, and their courage debaſed by the luxury, as well as ſervitude, which the Romans introduced among them.

In their religion and their laws, they were wholly governed by their Druids, as were the ancient Gauls, who are ſaid to have been furniſhed with the chiefeſt and moſt learned of theirs, out of Britain, eſteemed the nurſery for the ancient Druids, ſo renowned in ſtory: theſe were the only perſons of any ſort of learning in theſe nations, which was derived by long tradition among them, conſiſted in the obſervation of the heavens, knowledge of the ſtars and their courſes, and thereby the preſages of many events, or at leaſt ſeaſons whereby the vulgar is chiefly concerned. The reſt was their doctrines of religion, forms of divine worſhip, and inſtructions in morality, which conſiſted in juſtice and fortitude. Their lives were ſimple and innocent, in woods, caves, and hollow trees; their food, of acorns, berries, or other maſt; their drink, water; which

made them reſpected and admired, not only for knowing more than other men, but for deſpiſing what all others valued and purſued; and by their great virtue and temperance, they were ſuffered patiently to reprove and correct the vices and crimes, from which themſelves were free. All this together gave them ſuch authority and veneration among the people, that they were not only the prieſts, but the judges too, throughout the nation. No laws were inſtituted by princes or common aſſemblies, without the propoſal or approbation of the Druids: no perſon was puniſhed by bonds, ſtrokes, or death, without the judgment and ſentence of the Druids: from a belief, that men would never ſubmit to the loſs of their liberties, or their lives, unleſs they believed it was inflicted upon them by a divine authority.

One cuſtom there was among the Britains, which ſeems peculiar to themſelves, and not found in the ſtories of any other nations, either civil, or barbarous, which was a ſociety of wives among certain numbers, and by common conſent. Every man married a ſingle woman, who was always after and alone eſteemed his wife: but it was uſual for five or ſix, ten or twelve, or more, either brothers or friends, as they could agree, to have all their wives in common: encounters happened among them as they were invited by deſire, or favoured by opportunity. Every woman's children were attributed to him that had married her, but all had a ſhare in the care and defence of the whole ſociety, ſince no man knew which were his own. Though this cuſtom be alledged as a teſtimony how ſavage or barbarous a people the Britains were, yet I know not why it ſhould appear more extravagant than the community of women in ſome other countries; the deflouring of virgins by the prieſt the firſt night of their marriage; the unlimited number of wives and concubines; not to mention the marriage of ſiſters, among the ancient

Egyptians and Athenians, and the borrowing and lending of wives among the Romans. On the other ſide, it may be alledged for ſome excuſe of theſe our anceſtors, that by ſuch a cuſtom they avoided the common miſchiefs, of jealouſy, the injuries of adultery, the confinement of ſingle marriages, the luxury and expence of many wives or concubines, and the partiality of parents in the education of all their own children: all which are conſiderations that have fallen under the care of many famous lawgivers. But the beſt excuſe was made upon this occaſion by a Britiſh woman (in the time of Severus) who being grown familiar with Julia Auguſta, and other chief ladies of that court, and having obſerved what paſſed there behind the curtain, was one day reproached for this cuſtom of the Britains, as infamous in the women as well as barbarous in the men. She anſwered coldly, We do that openly with the beſt of our men, which you do privately with the worſt of yours. However it be, ſuch were the people and the cuſtoms of Britain, when the Romans firſt invaded their iſland under the enſigns of Julius Cæſar. This famous Roman leader, then governor of Gaul, after having ſubdued all that province, and the bordering parts of Germany, was the firſt we read of with any certainty, that entered Britain with foreign arms. His forces were compoſed of Germans, Batavians, and Gauls, beſides the beſt of his old Roman legions: yet in two expeditions he made into this iſland, he rather increaſed the glory than the dominion of Rome; and gave Britain the honour of being the laſt triumph of that mighty republic, which had before ſubdued and reduced into provinces ſo many kingdoms and commonwealths in Europe, Aſia, and America.

The Britains with their naked troops made a brave oppoſition againſt the veteran army, in many fierce encounters, with mutual loſſes, and various ſucceſſes; till diſſention entering among the ſeveral princes, ſome of

of them, jealous of Caſſivelaunus, or his greatneſs, fled over to Cæſar, ſubmitted to the Romans, and deſired their protection. Others followed their example, till Caſſivelaunus, weakened by theſe deſertions, reſolved likewiſe to make the beſt terms he could for himſelf and the reſt; he ſends to Cæſar, acknowledges the Roman ſtate, agrees upon a certain tribute, and delivers hoſtages. And here began the fate of Britain to make way for foreign conqueſts by their diviſions at home.

The Romans were pleaſed with the name of a new conqueſt, and glad to end an adventure with ſome honour, which they found was not further to be purſued without long time, and much danger; and having diſcovered, rather than ſubdued the ſouthern parts only of the iſland, returned into Gaul with their whole forces, and left the Britains to their own cuſtoms, laws, and governments.

Cæſar being eſteemed the beſt writer, as well as the greateſt captain of his age, or, perhaps, of any other, has, with his own pen, left us the beſt account, not only of this enterprize, but of this iſland too, till then little known to the reſt of the world.

Thoſe tales we have of what paſſed there before his time, of Brute and his Trojans, of many adventures and ſucceſſions, are covered with the ruſt of time, or involved in the vanity of fables, or pretended traditions; which ſeem to all men obſcure or uncertain, but to me forged at pleaſure, by the wit or folly of their firſt authors, and not to be regarded.

From the firſt entrance of Cæſar's triumphant arms, we have ſome conſtant light in the ſtory of Britain, though often very weak and uncertain, from the obſcurity of thoſe barbarous nations, who invaded the northern parts of the iſland; and from the ignorance of thoſe illiterate ages, that paſſed from the decay to

the reſtoration of the Greek and Roman languages and learning, in the weſtern parts of Europe.

As the Roman conqueſts advanced in this iſland during the reigns of ſo many emperors, the braveſt of the natives, who could not endure that ſubjection, retired into the mountainous and rocky parts of Wales and Cornwall, where they preſerved their liberty ſome time longer; but fell at laſt, with the reſt, into the common ſervitude. But the greateſt numbers and of the hardieſt bodies, as well as courage, among the Britains, after many brave attempts for defence of their country and liberty, and many defeats by the invincible Romans, ſtill retired northward from the incroachments of the conqueror, till they were at laſt beaten out into the rough and ſavage parts, beyond the two fryths, where the Romans afterwards built a wall. Theſe native Britains were by them called Picts, from the cuſtom they ſtill retained of painting their bodies and their ſhields. And this I take for the moſt probable account of the nation ſo termed by the Romans (for among themſelves they were called Albions); though much pains and invention has been employed by many authors, to make them a foreign race of people, who, from they knew not what country, and at they know not what time, invaded and poſſeſſed Caledonia, or the northern parts of Scotland.

It is more difficult to find out the original of the Scots, or the time of their entrance upon thoſe north-weſt regions; but as far as can be gathered out of the duſt or rubbiſh of ſuch barbarous times and writings, and what remains ſtill of known appellations and events, it ſeems probable, that vaſt numbers of a ſavage people, called Scyths, at ſome certain time, began and atchieved the conqueſt of the northern parts both of Britain and Ireland, and by an eaſy change of the words, were called Scots; and from them, thoſe two countries were called Scotia Major and Scotia Minor.

Whether

Whether the Scots landed firſt in Ireland or Scotland, I leave diſputed and undetermined among their authors: but it ſeems agreed, that both thoſe countries were, for ſome courſe of time, ſtyled Scotiæ, and that both the north-weſt parts of Scotland, as well as Ireland, were called Ierne. I am apt to conjecture, that when theſe Scots ſeated themſelves in thoſe parts of Scotland, they divided themſelves into two races or nations, whereof thoſe who inhabited the north-eaſt parts, called themſelves Albion Scots, the name of the natives there being then Albins; and the reſt who poſſeſſed the north-weſt parts, were called Iren-Scots, from a river of that country, which gave it the name of Ierne; and this name was communicated to all the reſt of that race, who conquered and poſſeſſed the north of Ireland, which from them was ſtyled by the Saxons Iren-land, and by abbreviation, Ireland. And the original name ſeems to have belonged rather to thoſe parts of Scotland than Ireland, ſince it is given us by the ancienteſt Latin verſe that mentions it, with the epithet of glacialis Ierne, which agrees little with the climate of Ireland.

That theſe fierce invaders were Scythians or Scyths (which was their vulgar termination) is probably conjectured, if not aſcertained, not only from their name, but from the ſeat of that continent, which is neareſt to the north of Scotland: this is Norway, and is the utmoſt weſtern province of that vaſt northern region, which extends from thence to the fartheſt bounds of Tartary upon the eaſtern ocean, and was by the ancients comprehended in the general appellation of Scythia, as well as divided into ſeveral other barbarous names and countries. Beſides, it is both uſual and rational, that ſuch great tranſmigrations of people ſhould be made from a worſe to a better climate or ſoil, rather than to a worſe, which makes this probable, to have proceeded from Norway, than from the lower

and more fertile parts of Germany; and the iſland which is the neareſt part of land to that continent of Norway, retains ſtill the name of Schetland, as the firſt point which is reported to have been touched by the Scots, or Scyths, in this navigation.

Another argument may be drawn from ſeveral cuſtoms ſtill remaining among the old northern Iriſh, which are recorded to have been anciently among ſome of the Scythian nations, removing their houſes or creats from one place to another, according to the ſeaſon: burning of their corn, inſtead of beating or treading in other countries: eating blood they drew from living cattle: feeding generally upon milk, and uſing little other huſbandry, beſides the paſture and breed of cattle. To this is added, that the mantle or plad, ſeems to have been the garment in uſe among the Weſtern Scythians, as they continue ſtill among the Northern Iriſh, and the Highland Scots.

For their language, it muſt be confeſſed, there is not left the leaſt trace by which we may ſeek out the original of this nation; for it is neither known, nor recorded to have been uſed any where elſe in the world, beſides Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, and the Iſle of Man, and muſt be allowed to be an original language, without any affinity to the old Britiſh, or any other upon the continent, and, perhaps, with leſs mixture than any other of thoſe original languages yet remaining in any parts of Europe. The conjecture raiſed of its having come from Spain, becauſe ſome Spaniſh words are obſerved in it, appears too light to be regarded, when thoſe very words are of the modern Spaniſh, which is a language not above ſeven or eight hundred years old, and compounded chiefly out of old Roman and Gothic, with a later intruſion of the Saracen among them: and yet I know no better ground than this for the other tradition of Ireland having been anciently planted from Spain, and eſteem the few

Spaniſh

Spaniſh words to have been introduced only by traffic of the ſouth-weſt parts of Ireland to Spain.

It ſeems probable, that from what part ſoever of the continent this nation ſailed upon this adventure, they were driven away by the force or fear of ſome other invaders, and in ſo great numbers, that the natives remaining, neither preſerved any where their name or language, but were either deſtroyed by the conquerors, or blended into the maſs of the new nations, who ſeated themſelves in their country, as we find the old Britiſh to have been in England, by the conqueſts and inundations of the Saxons.

The time of this expedition is yet leſs in view; nor does Buchanan, or any other author, that I know of, pretend to tell, or ſo much as conjecture farther, than upon a ſuppoſition of the Scots coming firſt out of Ireland, without alledging any authority for that neither. I know no way of making any gueſſes at a matter ſo obſcure, without recourſe to the Runic learning and ſtories, by which we find, that the Aſiatic Scythians, under the name of Getes or Goths, and the conduct of Odin their Captain (their lawgiver at firſt, and afterwards one of their gods) are eſteemed to have begun their expedition into the north-weſt parts of Europe, about the time that the Roman arms began firſt to make a great noiſe, and give great fears in Aſia, which was in the reigns of Antiochus firſt, and then of Mithridates. How long the arms of Odin and his ſucceſſors were employed in the conqueſt and ſettlement of that vaſt kingdom, which contained all the tracts of country ſurrounding the Baltic ſea, is not agreed upon in the Runic ſtories; but it is neceſſary, Norway muſt have been the laſt they poſſeſſed in their weſtern progreſs; and I am apt to think, the Scyths may have been driven by them to ſeek nearer ſeats in our iſlands, and that it is probable to have been ſome time of the firſt century. Whenever it was, it ſeems more agreed, that after

after the firſt entrance of the Scots into Caledonia, they ſubdued much of the country, mingled with the reſt of the native Picts, continued long to infeſt the frontier parts of the Roman colonies in Britain, with great fierceneſs, and many various events; and would poſſibly have made much greater noiſe and impreſſions upon the Romans, if their greater numbers had not been drawn another way, by ſo great a drain as that of Ireland; which they totally conquered, and long poſſeſſed.

This is the beſt account I have been ever able to give myſelf of theſe ancient times and events in the northern parts of our iſlands, being a matter that has employed ſo many unſkilful pens in ſo much idle traſh, and worthleſs ſtuff, as they have left upon it; but all involved in ſuch groundleſs traditions and vanity of fables, ſo obſcured by the length of time, and darkneſs of unlearned ages; or covered over with ſuch groſs forgeries, made at pleaſure by their firſt inventors, that I know few ancient authors upon this ſubject, worth the pains of peruſal, and of dividing or refining ſo little gold out of ſo much coarſe ore, or from ſo much droſs. And I have the rather made this excurſion, becauſe I have met with nothing in ſtory more obſcure, and often obſerved with wonder, that we ſhould know leſs of Ireland, than of any other country in Europe: for, beſides its having been anciently planted by the Scots, and taken their name, and then after ſeveral centuries, been ſubdued, and much of it planted by the Danes; we know nothing certain of the affairs or revolutions of that iſland, till the Engliſh began their conqueſts there, under the enſigns of Henry the Second. For the Daniſh eſtabliſhments there, we neither know the time nor the manner they either began or ended; though many monuments ſtill remain of the towns and caſtles they built, and many records

among

among ſome families in Denmark, of the lands and poſſeſſions they long held and enjoyed in Ireland.

I ſhall now return to that part of our iſland, which was more properly by the Romans termed Britannia, was conquered by the victorious arms, and reduced into a province by the wiſe inſtitutions of that renowned nation; and having once found the end of the thread, it will be eaſy to wind off the bottom; and being a ſubject treated by ſo many authors, and pretty well agreed, I ſhall trouble myſelf no farther, than to continue the thread as it leads through the ſeveral revolutions that have happened in this noble iſland, till the laſt Norman period, by which the preſent ſucceſſion and governments ſeem to have been eſtabliſhed, and have ever ſince continued.

The Roman arms entered Britain under the firſt and moſt renowned of their emperors, which was Julius Cæſar: but it was not a quarry worth ſuch an eagle, and ſo left by him to be purſued by the lieutenants of the ſucceeding emperors.

The ſecond expedition into Britain was made by Claudius, under the conduct of Plautius, and purſued under Oſtorius, and other Roman commanders, with great ſucceſſes. The ſouthern coaſts, with moſt of the inland parts thereunto adjacent, were wholly ſubdued and ſecured by fortifying camps, building caſtles, and planting many colonies. The reſt ſeemed at a gaze, and to promiſe ſubmiſſions at the firſt, rather than any diſturbances, to the progreſs of the Roman arms. Till provoked by the oppreſſion of ſome of the Prætors, and their corrupt officers, the Britains towards the north, made head under Caractacus, and continued for nine years, not only a brave defence, but threatened ſome fatal dangers to the Roman colonies, till in a deciſive battle, by the advantage of armed and diſciplined veteran ſoldiers, againſt looſe troops of naked men, the Britains were totally vanquiſhed, Caractacus

taken

taken priſoner, and ſent to make a paat of a famous Britiſh triumph at Rome. Yet one ſtrong endeavour more was made for their liberty, in the time of Nero; when Paulinus going with the beſt part of his army to ſubdue the iſle of Angleſey, the Britains preſuming upon ſo great a diſtance between the governor and his colonies, made a general inſurrection under Voadicea, fell upon the Romans in all places, took their caſtles, deſtroyed the chief ſeats of their power at London and Verulam, and purſued their advantages with ſuch ſlaughter and revenge, that above ſeventy thouſand Romans or their auxiliaries, were killed by the fury of this general revolt: yet Paulinus returning with his army, encountered the Britiſh forces in a ſet battle, overthrew their whole powers, purſued his victory with the ſlaughter of eighty thouſand; forceth Voadicea to poiſon herſelf in deſpair: and here ended, not only the Britiſh liberties, but their very hopes too, or any conſiderable attempts ever to recover them.

Under Veſpaſian and Domitian, Julius Agricola firſt diſcovered it to be an iſland, ſailing round it with his fleets, and extended and pacified the bounds of his province to the neck of land between the two fryths about Sterling and Glaſgow; and returning, applied himſelf to the arts of peace and civil inſtitutions, brought in the uſe of the Roman laws and cuſtoms, habits and arms, language and manners, baths and feaſts, ſtudies and learning: by all which he pretended to ſoften the minds, and change the very natures of barbarous people, very difficult to be ſubdued by other means, how violent ſoever. This wiſe council, purſued by his ſucceſſors in the government, ſucceeded ſo well, that the Romans had little trouble afterwards in Britain, beſides the defence of their province upon the northern borders.

After theſe eſtabliſhments, the Romans called all that part of the iſland lying northward from the two fryths,

fryths, Caledonia, leaving the name of Britannia to the reſt, which was reduced to their obedience, and from that time remained a Roman province. To defend it from the irruptions of theſe fierce and numerous people on the north ſide, Agricola began, and in ſome manner finiſhed, a wall or vallum, upon that narrow ſpace of land that lies between the two fryths or bays of the eaſtern and weſtern ſeas, upon which Glaſgow and Sterling are ſeated. He fortified this paſs between the two points, with towers and ramparts, to make it defenſible againſt thoſe barbarous nations who inhabited the northern ſide of that country, which the Romans eſteemed not worth the conquering, and provided only for ſecurity of the reſt of the iſland. Many ruins of this vallum were lately, and for ought I know, may be ſtill remaining; and among the reſt, a ſmall round tower built of ſtone, but ſo exactly cut, as every one to join into another, with admirable art and firmneſs, though without any uſe of mortar or iron. And this was eſteemed to have been a temple of Terminus, and built there as the utmoſt bounds of the Roman province. This wall was afterwards repaired and ſtronger fortified by Adrian and Severus: nor is it indeed agreed by authors which of them began or finiſhed it, and whether the laſt made not another vallum between the two ſeas more ſouthward, and of a much greater length: but, I think, the firſt more probable. However, this was a defence intended and atchieved by the Romans, againſt thoſe bold and brave remainders of the northern Britains, aſſiſted by the Scots, who yet frequently invaded and infeſted the province, during the time the Romans held this iſland, which was till the reign of Honorius, and for the ſpace of about four hundred and ſixty years.

Upon the diviſions in the Roman empire, which was grown a prey to their armies, and commonly diſpoſed by their inconſtant humours, the pretenders often fought

fought their battles, and decided their quarrels in Gallia, as well ſeveral of the commanders there who arrived at the empire, as ſeveral others who fell in the purſuit of that fatal purple, and left only the name of tyrants behind them in the ſtories of that age. For the aſſiſtance of theſe factions, the Britiſh legions were at ſeveral times and occaſions drawn away into Gaul, and with them great numbers of the braveſt of the Britiſh youth, who were affectionate to the Roman government, and inſtructed in their language, manners, and diſcipline of their arms. As the Roman forces decreaſed in Britain, the Picts and Scots ſtill the more boldly infeſted the northern parts, croſſing the fryths, and hovering about the coaſts in little boats of wicker covered with leather, filled all where they came with ſpoil and ſlaughter, till repelled by what remained of the Roman forces, they retired ſtill into their northern neſt, watching for the next occaſion of invaſion, and revenge upon the neighbouring Britains, whenever the Romans were drawn away into remoter parts of the iſland. Theſe enterprizes were often repeated, and as often repreſſed, for ſome time, till, in the reign of the ſecond Valentinian, upon the mighty inundations of thoſe barbarous northern nations, which, under the names of Goths and Vandals, invaded the Roman empire with infinite numbers, fury, and danger to Rome itſelf, all the Roman legions were at laſt drawn out of Britain, with moſt of the Britains that were fit for military ſervice, to relieve the emperor, who was purſued by the Goths into Piedmont, and there beſieged in a ſtrong paſſage or town he pretended to defend.

The Romans taking their laſt leave of this province here, left the Britains to their own government, and choice of their own kings and leaders, with the beſt inſtructions for the exerciſe of their arms and diſcipline, and the repairs and defence of the wall, or rampart,

they

they had raiſed againſt their northern foes. But theſe, finding the whole country deſerted by the Roman bands, exhauſted of their own braveſt youth, and weakened by their new diviſions, began to pour in greater numbers than ever into the northern parts, and ravaged all before them, with greater rage and fury. The poor Britains ſent over their miſerable epiſtle for relief (ſtill upon record) to the renowned Ætius, who had by ſeveral famous ſucceſſes, for a time, repelled the violence of the Gothic arms; which was addreſſed in theſe words: "To Ætius thrice conſul: The groans "of the Britains;" and told him, after other lamentable complaints, "That the barbarous people drove "them to the ſea, and the ſea back to the barbarous "people; between which they had only left the choice "of thoſe two deaths, either to be killed by the one, "or drowned by the other." But having no hopes given them by the Roman general, of any ſuccours from that ſide, they began to conſider what other nation they might call over to their relief.

The Saxons were one branch of thoſe Gothic nations, which ſwarming from the northern hive, had, under the conduct of Odin, poſſeſſed themſelves anciently of all thoſe mighty tracts of land that ſurround the Baltic ſea. A branch of theſe, under the name of Suevi (from whom the Baltic was of old called Mare Suevicum) had ſome time before Cæſar's wars in Gaul, invaded and ſubdued very large extended territories in Germany, from the coaſt of the north-weſt ocean to the ſouth-eaſtern parts, whereof Swabia ſtill retains the memory and the name. Theſe Suevi, or Suabi, where, for their ſtrength and valour, grown ſo formidable to all the German nations they had conquered, and forced to ſeek new ſeats, that thoſe upon the Rhine ſending ambaſſadors to Cæſar, told him, "They would neither "ſeek war with the Romans, nor avoid it; that they "eſteemed themſelves as valiant as any other nation,

"excepting

" excepting only the Suevi, from whom the very im-
" mortal gods were not a match." Theſe Suevi became afterwards divided into two ſeveral nations, and by limits agreed between them. Thoſe towards the ſouth-eaſt of Germany were called Francs, from their great love of liberty, and their valour in preſerving it, and never ſubmitting to the Roman ſubjection, as many other German nations had done: theſe, upon the fatal decline of that empire, invaded Gaul, under the leading of Pharamond; and under the ſucceeding kings of his race, conquered the whole province, and eſtabliſhed that noble and ancient kingdom of France.

The other branch of the Suevi poſſeſſed themſelves of all thoſe tracts of land in Germany that lie between the Elve and the Lower Rhine, had extended their ſeats all over the coaſts of the north-weſt ſea; and from thence exerciſed their arms and fierce courages, in all ſorts of ſpoils and piracies, not only upon merchants, or traders at ſea, but upon the maritime coaſts of Britain, oppoſite to thoſe countries about the mouth of the Rhine, or thereunto adjacent. Theſe fierce people were called Saxons from a weapon generally uſed among them, and made like a ſcythe, with the edge reverſed, which in their language were termed Seaxes.

To theſe Vortigern, choſen king by the deſerted and afflicted Britains, made addreſs for aid againſt the Picts and Scots, who had now made inroads as far as Trent. Their deſires of relief, and offers of ſeats in Britain, were ſoon accepted and granted by the Saxons; who, under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa, of the race of Odin, came over with great numbers to the aſſiſtance of the Britains, in the year 450. They joined with the natives at firſt, as friends and allies, had the iſle of Thanet aſſigned them at their landing; and upon occaſion of greater numbers, the county of Kent for their colony and habitation. They marched againſt the Picts and Scots, and, in conjunction with the Britiſh

arms,

arms, overthrew their forces in ſeveral battles or encounters with thoſe cruel ravagers, and beat them back into the moſt northern parts of the province. After this, by conſent of the Britains, Hengiſt and Horſa ſent for their two ſons, or near kinſmen, to come over with a new army of Saxons, by ſea, into thoſe northern parts; who ſeated their colony about Northumberland, upon pretence of guarding that frontier againſt the Picts and Scots, and their incurſions upon the Britains, which they did with great bravery and ſucceſſes; and thereby left thoſe nations contented, or forced, to bound their territories with thoſe rough and mountainous countries that lie between the two ſeas, near the river Tweed, and which ever ſince continued as the borders between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, into which the iſland came afterwards to be divided.

The province, now delivered and ſecured from their ancient foes, diſſenſions began to ariſe between the Britains and their new allies: the Saxons valued too high the aſſiſtance they had given, and the Britains, perhaps, too low what they had received; till the firſt, allured by ſo fair a prey, and the fertile ſoil of ſo ſweet a country, inviting ſtill greater numbers from the continent, eſtabliſhed two Saxon kingdoms, one in the ſouthern, and the other in the northern parts; and from both theſe ſides invaded the Britains, who, for ſome time, defended themſelves and their liberties, with various ſucceſſes, and with the greater hatred and diſtinction, the Saxons being all Pagans, and the Britiſh generally Chriſtians; which religion ſeems to have been planted here in the firſt century, but to have taken root, and ſpread, chiefly, under Conſtantius, who was long governor of the Roman province here, a great favourer of Chriſtianity, and a father of Conſtantine the Great.

In the time of theſe firſt wars between the Saxons and Britains, Ambroſius reigned over the laſt; and either as general of his armies, or his ſucceſſor in the kingdom, Arthur, ſo famous in the traditions, or rather in the romances of ſucceeding ages, and who is ſaid to have gained twelve battles over the Saxons, and to have left the Britains in the middle of the province, for ſome time ſecure from theſe fierce enemies, till peace and luxury had again ſoftened them; and by new diſſenſions among themſelves, expoſed their whole province to become an eaſy prey to ſo fierce and numerous invaders. The time of King Arthur's reign, or atchievements (if any ſuch there were) muſt have been between the years 460 and 500. But this whole ſtory is left ſo uncertain, or obſcure, by thoſe poor writers, who have pretended to leave the tales, rather than the hiſtory of thoſe times behind them, that it remains in doubt, whether to conſider them as a part of the ſtory of that or the fables of ſucceeding ages. Whatever there was of plain ſtuff, the embroidery of it, with the knights of the round table, their orders and their chivalry, and the reſt of that kind, ſeems to have been introduced by that vein of the Spaniſh romances, which many ages after filled the world with ſo much of that idle traſh; and choſe for the ſubject of them, the adventures and ſucceſſes of the firſt Chriſtian, pretended, heroes, who renowned ſuch fictitious names by extravagant actions or adventures againſt the Pagans or the Saracens, either in Spain or other parts of Europe and Aſia. And among theſe, it is probable, thoſe writers found room for the many legends of the Britiſh Arthur, and his romantic adventures againſt the heathen Saxons.

After the year 500, for one century or thereabouts, the Saxon forces were employed in ſubduing the midland parts of Britain, interjacent between their two firſt eſtabliſhed colonies or kingdoms in the ſouth,

or

or Kent, and in the north, or about Northumberland; and to furniſh men for ſuch atchievements, and the new plantation of ſo great tracts of country, after the conqueſt and devaſtation of the old, mighty numbers of the Saxon race came over into Britain, in ſeveral expeditions, and landing at ſeveral places: that which is recorded to have made ſudden and eaſy way for their final conqueſts, was a treaty they entered into with the Britains; where, upon a parley mediated between them, three hundred of the chief of each ſide agreed to meet, and conclude the treaty, in a great plain: in the midſt of talk and drink, which had part in this commerce, the Saxons provoking maliciouſly, and the Britains innocently reſenting, fell to quarrel, firſt in words, and at laſt to blows: when the Saxons, upon a ſign agreed between them, drew out ſhort ſwords they had concealed under their upper garments, fell upon the unarmed Britains, ſlew their whole number in the field, who being the beſt and braveſt of their nation, left the reſt expoſed, without heart or head, to the fury and progreſs of the Saxon arms. Theſe heartened with ſucceſs, and proud of ſo great poſſeſſions and territories, invited and allured ſtill greater numbers of their own from abroad: who being of ſeveral branches, and from ſeveral coaſts, arrived here under ſeveral names; among whom the Angles from Schonen and Jutland ſwarmed over in ſuch numbers, that they gave a new name at length to this province, which from them was called Angle-land, and for eaſier ſound England.

The Saxons purſued their invaſion with courage and fierceneſs, equal to the multitudes of their nation, that ſwarmed over into this iſland, and with ſuch an uninterrupted courſe of fortune and victories, after the year 500, that by the end of the next century they had ſubdued the whole body of the province, and eſtabliſhed in it ſeven ſeveral kingdoms, which were by

the writers of thoſe times ſtyled the heptarchy of the Saxons. They had expelled the Britains out of the faireſt and beſt of their ancient poſſeſſions, and driven their greateſt numbers, who eſcaped the conquerors fury, into Wales and Cornwall, countries mountainous and barren, encompaſſed on three ſides by the ſea, and towards the land of difficult acceſs. Some great colonies of them wholly abandoned their native country to their fierce invaders, ſailed over into the north-weſt parts of France, where poſſeſſing new ſeats, they gave a new appellation to that peninſula which preſerves ſtill the name and memory of Britain there, though about this time almoſt worn out at home.

This is the account commonly given of the Britiſh colonies firſt eſtabliſhing themſelves in that canton of Gaul: but there is another given by ſome learned perſons of their own, and drawn, as they ſay, either from ancient archives, or traditions among them, and which to me ſeems the moſt probable. When upon the Roman wars in Gaul, among ſeveral pretenders to the empire, great numbers of the Britains, as well as Roman forces in that iſland, were drawn over to aſſiſt the contending parties: it is ſaid, that very great multitudes of the Britiſh, having followed the unfortunate ſide, retired as faſt as they could to that part of the ſea-coaſt neareſt to their iſle, and moſt likely to furniſh them with ſhips for their tranſportation; but that the miſeries of their native country, from the furious inroads of the Picts and Scots, ſo diſcouraged their return, that by conſent of the Gauls their friends they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the fartheſt north-weſt parts of that province, which has ſince that time retained their language and their name. And this agrees with the legend of King Arthur, who is ſaid to have been a young prince, or leader, ſent from the Britains in France, to aſſiſt their countrymen here againſt the Saxons. Whatever the beginnings of this colony were, or at what

what time, it is at leaſt agreed to have been much augmented by the reſort of ſo many Britains as ſought refuge there from the Saxon cruelty.

The weak and poor remainders of the old Britains, who were ſcattered among the Saxons in England, were wholly ſpoiled of their lands and goods, which were fallen under the mercy of the conquerors, who, ſharing them all among themſelves, left the remaining Britains in a condition of a downright ſervitude, uſed them for tilling ground, feeding cattle, and other ſervile works in houſe or field; ſometimes farming out certain parts of land to them, at certain rents or profits, but held always at the will and pleaſure of the landlord. The children that were born of theſe miſerable people belonged to the lord of the ſoil, like the reſt of the ſtock or cattle upon it; and thus began villenage in England, which laſted till the time or end of Henry the Seventh's reign.

Soon after the year 600, the Saxons in England, having ended their old quarrel with the Britains, began new ones among themſelves; and, according to the uſual circle of human affairs, war ended in peace, peace in plenty and luxury, theſe in pride, and pride in contention, till the circle ended in new wars. The Saxon princes, of the ſeven kingdoms they had erected in Britain, fell into emulations of one another's greatneſs, diſputes about the bounds of their ſeveral principalities, or about ſucceſſions or uſurpations, pretended or exerciſed in one or other of them: theſe were followed by formal wars among them, the ſtronger ſwallowing up the weaker; and theſe having recourſe to their neighbours, for defence againſt encroaching power. Many fierce encounters, ſieges, battles, ſpoils, and devaſtations of country, ſucceeded in the progreſs and deciſion of theſe mutual injuries and invaſions, between the Saxon kings, for above two hundred years: but the account of them is very poorly given us, with

little order or agreement of times or actions, by the the few and mean authors of thoſe barbarous and illiterate ages; and, perhaps, the rough courſe of thoſe lawleſs times and actions would have been too ignoble a ſubject for a good hiſtorian.

About the year 830, after many various events and revolutions between the ſeveral races of the heptarchy, Ecbert, deſcended from the Weſt Saxon kings, having inherited moſt of the ſucceſſions from the proweſs and exploits of his anceſtors, and acquired others by his own, became the firſt ſole king or monarch of England, as it now was diſtinguiſhed from the principality of Wales poſſeſſed by the old Britains, and from that part of the iſland to the north of Tweed poſſeſſed by the Picts and Scots, and by the Saxons ſtyled by one common name of Scotland.

This famous adventure of the Saxons in England was atchieved by the force and confluence of ſuch multitudes from the coaſt of Germany which lies between the Belgic and Baltic ſhores, that ſome parts of their native countries were left almoſt diſpeopled, to fill again by new ſwarms from the great northern hive, and the number of Saxons and Angles, Jutes, and other nations that came over, were not only ſufficient to conquer and waſte this whole province, but even to plant and people it ſoon again with numerous and new inhabitants. So as by them ſucceeded in this iſland, not only a change of government, as by the Roman arms; but a change of the very people or nation, that inhabited or poſſeſſed the lands of this whole province: this induced a change likewiſe of names, of language, of cuſtoms, of laws, of arms, of diſcipline, of poſſeſſions, of titles, of religion, and even of the whole face of nature, through this whole kingdom. So as we may juſtly date the original of all theſe amongſt us, as well as our nation itſelf, from theſe our Saxon anceſtors: Britain, which was before a Roman province,

province, was now grown a Saxon kingdom; and inſtead of its former name, was called England; the language, which was either Latin or Britiſh, was now grown wholly Saxon or Engliſh; the land that was before divided into Roman colonies or governments, was ſo now into ſhires, with names given to them by the Saxons, as they firſt poſſeſſed, or afterwards thought fit to diſtinguiſh them.

The habits in peace, and arms in war, the titles of officers in both, as well as of great counſellors to their kings, or great proprietors of lands, came to be all according to the Saxon forms and uſage. The laws of this country, which before were Roman, changed now into old Saxon cuſtoms or conſtitutions. Their princes, or leaders of their ſeveral nations, became konings or kings of the territories they had ſubdued. They reſerved part of the lands to themſelves for their revenue, and ſhared the reſt among their chief commanders by great diviſions, and among their ſoldiers by ſmaller ſhares. The firſt, who had the great diviſions, were called earls or barons; thoſe of the ſmaller were knights; and the ſmalleſt of all were freemen, who poſſeſſed ſome proportions of free lands, and were thereby diſtinguiſhed from the villens, that held nothing but at the will of the landlord.

In this univerſal transformation, religion itſelf had a ſhare, like all the reſt, and received new forms and orders, with the new inhabitants, whilſt all that was Roman or Britiſh expired together in this country: the Britains began early to receive the Chriſtian faith, and, as is reported, from ſome of the diſciples themſelves: and this was ſo propagated among them, that when the Romans left the province, they were generally Chriſtians, and had their prieſts and biſhops from that ancient and apoſtolic conſtitution. The Saxons were a ſort of idolatrous pagans, that worſhipped ſeveral gods peculiar to themſelves, among whom Woden, Thor,

and Frea were the chief, which left their memories ſtill preſerved by the common names of three days in the week: this religious worſhip they introduced with them, and continued long in England, till they ſubdued the Britains, reduced it under their heptarchy of Saxon Kings, perſecuted the Britiſh Chriſtians, and drove them with their religion into Wales, where they continued under their primitive prieſts and biſhops, who, with their monks, were all under the ſurintendence of one archprieſt or biſhop of Carleon, the bound of the Britiſh principality. About the year 600, Pope Gregory ſent Auſtin the monk to preach the goſpel in England to the heathen Saxons, who, landing at Dover, was received with humanity by Ethelbert, king of the South Saxons; and being admitted, with four or five of his companions, as well-meaning men, to teach and explain the doctrine and myſteries of Chriſtianity among theſe ignorant and barbarous people, they ſo well ſucceeded, that they converted at firſt great numbers of the common ſort, and at length the king himſelf, whoſe example gave eaſy way for introducing the Chriſtian faith into his whole kingdom, which from thence ſpread into all the countries ſubject to the Saxon heptarchy. Thus religion came to be eſtabliſhed in England, under the rites and forms and authority of the Roman church; by which Auſtin was inſtituted chief biſhop in England, and ſeated by the Saxon king at Canterbury. But his juriſdiction, though admitted in all the Saxon territories, was not received by the Britiſh prieſts or people in Wales, though endeavoured by many miſſions from Auſtin and his ſucceſſors, and even by wars and perſecution of the Saxons, upon the old Britiſh Chriſtians, at the inſtigation of the new Romiſh prieſts, in one of which, near Carleon, twelve hundred of the poor Britiſh monks are ſaid to have been ſlaughtered, while they were apart in the field at their prayers for the ſucceſs of the Britiſh my.

With

With this account of a new face and ſtate of perſons and of things, both natural, civil, and religious, eſtabliſhed in England, I return to the period I left, of the Saxon heptarchy, which, being extinguiſhed by long and various revolutions among themſelves, made way for the reign of Ecbert, the firſt ſole king or monarch of England, about the year 830.

It might have been reaſonably expected, that a wiſe and fortunate prince, at the head of ſo great a dominion, and ſo brave and numerous a people as the Engliſh, after the expulſion of the Picts and Scots out of his country into the rough northern parts, and of the Britains into the north-weſt corners of the iſland, ſhould not only have enjoyed the fruits of peace and quiet, but left much felicity, as well as greatneſs, to many ſucceeding generations, both of prince and people; yet ſuch is the inſtability of human affairs, and the weakneſs of their beſt conjectures, that Ecbert was hardly warm in his united throne, when both he and his ſubjects began to be alarmed and perplexed at the approach of new and unknown enemies, and this iſland expoſed to new invaſions.

About this time a mighty ſwarm of the old northern hive, who had poſſeſſed the ſeats about the Baltic (almoſt deſerted by ſuch numbers of Goths, Vandals, and Saxons, as had iſſued out of them ſome centuries before) began, under the names of Danes and Normans, to infeſt at firſt the ſea and at length the lands of the Belgic, Gallic, and Britiſh ſhores, filling all where they came with ſlaughter, ſpoils, and devaſtations. The Normans firſt over-run the Belgic provinces upon the mouth of the Rhine, and gave new names of Holland and Zealand to thoſe parts adjacent to the ſea: afterwards they ſailed with mighty numbers into the mouth of the Seine, and with great fierceneſs ſubdued that northern part of France, which from them firſt received,

received, and ever ſince retained, the name of Normandy, and became the ſtate of a great Norman duke and his ſucceſſors, for ſeveral generations.

In the mean time the Danes began their inroads and furious invaſions upon the coaſts of England, with mighty numbers of ſhips, full of fierce and barbarous people, ſometimes entering the Thames, ſometimes the Humber, other times coaſting as far as Exeter, landing where-ever they found the ſhores unguarded, filling all with ravage, ſlaughter, ſpoil, and devaſtations of the country; where they found any ſtrong oppoſition, retiring to their ſhips, ſailing home laden with ſpoil; and by ſuch encouragements giving life to new expeditions the next ſeaſon of the year. The braveſt blood of the Engliſh had been exhauſted in their own civil wars, during the contentions of the heptarchy; ſince thoſe ended, the reſt were grown ſlothful with peace and with luxury, ſoftened with new devotions of their prieſts and their monks, with penances and pilgrimages, and great numbers running into cloiſters, and grown as unequal a match now for the Danes, as the Britiſh had been for the Saxons before. Yet this century paſſed not without many various ſucceſſes between the two nations, many victories and many defeats on both ſides; ſo that twelve battles are ſaid to have been fought between them in one year. The Danes divided their force into ſeveral camps, removed them from one part of the country to another, as they were forced by neceſſity of proviſions, or invited by hopes of new ſpoils, or the weakneſs and diviſions of the Engliſh: they at length fortified poſts and paſſages, built caſtles for defence of borders one againſt the other, which gave the beginning to thoſe numerous forts and caſtles that were ſcattered over the whole country, and laſted ſo long, as to remain many of them to this very age. The Engliſh ſometimes

times repulſed theſe invaſions, ſometimes purchaſed the ſafety of their provinces by great ſums of money, which occaſioned great exactions of their kings upon the people, and that great diſcontents; while the Danes, increaſing ſtill by new ſupplies of numbers and force, began to mingle among the inhabitants of thoſe parts they had ſubdued, made truces and treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the laws and government of the Engliſh kings. Alfred, to prevent the danger of new invaſions, began to build ſhips for the defence of his coaſts; and Edgar, a prince of great wiſdom and felicity in his reign, applying all his thoughts to the increaſe and greatneſs of his naval forces, as the true ſtrength and ſafety of his kingdom, raiſed them to that height both of numbers and force, and diſpoſed them with that order, for the guard of the ſeas round the whole iſland, as proved not only ſufficient to ſecure his own coaſts from any new invaſions, but the ſeas themſelves from the rovers and ſpoilers of thoſe northern nations who had ſo long infeſted them; ſo that all traders were glad to come under his protection: which gave a riſe to that right, ſo claimed by the crown of England to the dominion of the ſeas, about the year 960.

But theſe proviſions for the ſafety of the kingdom began to decline with the life of Edgar, and, neglected in the ſucceeding reigns, made way for new expeditions of the Danes, who exacted new tribute from the kings, and ſpoils from the ſubjects; till Ethelred, compounding with them for his own ſafety, and their peaceable living in England, and fortifying himſelf by an alliance with Richard duke of Normandy, laid a deſign for the general maſſacre of the Danes, ſpread abroad and living peaceably throughout the realm, which was carried on with that ſecrecy and concurrence of all the Engliſh, that it was executed upon one day, and the whole nation of the Danes maſſacred in England about the year 1002.

This

This cruel and perfidious maſſacre of ſo many thouſands, inſtead of ending the long miſeries of this kingdom from the violences, invaſions, and intruſions of the Danes, made way for new and greater calamities than before: for Swane king of Denmark, exaſperated by the ſlaughter of his nation here, and among them of his own ſiſter, and animated by the ſucceſſes of ſo many private expeditions, ſoon after landed with great forces, formed ſeveral camps of Danes in ſeveral parts of England, filled all with ſpoil and ſlaughter, forced Ethelred to fly for relief into Normandy; and though he returned again, yet being a weak and cruel prince, and thereby ill beloved, and ill obeyed by his ſubjects, he never recovered ſtrength enough to oppoſe the forces and numbers of the Danes, to whom many of the Engliſh nobles, as well as commoners, had in his abſence ſubmitted.

Swane died before he could atchieve this adventure; but left his ſon Canute in a courſe of ſuch proſperous fortunes, and the Engliſh ſo broken or divided, that, coming out of Denmark with new forces in two hundred ſhips, he reduced Edmund ſon of Ethelred firſt to a diviſion of the whole kingdom between them, and after his untimely death was by the whole nobility of the realm acknowledged and received for king of England. This fierce prince cut off ſome of the royal line, and forced others into exile, reigned long, and left the crown for two ſucceſſions to his Daniſh race, who all ſwore to govern the realm by the laws which had been eſtabliſhed, or rather digeſted, by Edward the Firſt and Edgar, out of the old Saxon cuſtoms and conſtitutions. But Hardecnute, laſt of the Daniſh kings, dying ſuddenly at a feaſt in the year 1042, left the race ſo hated, by the impoſition and exaction of ſeveral tributes upon his people, that Edward, ſurnamed The Confeſſor, and grandſon to Edgar, coming out of

Normandy,

Normandy, where he had been long protected, found an eaſy acceſſion to the crown, by the general concurrence both of nobles and people, and with great applauſe reſtored the Saxon race in 1043.

Thus expired not only the dominion but all attempts or invaſions of the Danes in England, which, though continued and often renewed, with mighty numbers, for above two hundred years, yet left no change of laws, cuſtoms, language, or religion, nor other traces of their eſtabliſhments here, beſides the many caſtles they built, and many families they left behind them, who after the acceſſion of Edward the Confeſſor to the crown wholly ſubmitting to his government, and peaceably inhabiting, came to incorporate, and make a part of the Engliſh nation, without any diſtinction.

Edward the Confeſſor reigned long, reduced the laws of Edward, Alfred, and Edgar's reigns into more form and order, and governed by them. His wars were ſucceſsful both in Scotland and Wales, though managed by his leaders, and without his preſence. But, being a prince of ſoft and eaſy nature, he gave way to the growing power and arrogance of earl Godwin and his ſons, who had been the chief inſtruments of advancing him to the throne, upon the condition of marrying earl Godwin's daughter. After he was ſettled in the kingdom, either upon gratitude or inclination to the people and cuſtoms of a country where he had lived long, and been well received when he was baniſhed from his own, he invited many of his Norman friends into England, employed them in his greateſt offices either of church or ſtate, and upon ſome quarrels between them and the Engliſh expreſſed too much partiality to the Normans: this gave Godwin and his ſon Harold occaſion or pretence of raiſing and heading great diſcontents of the Engliſh againſt the Norman favourites, and at laſt inſurrections againſt the king; who,

who, ſoft in his nature, devout in his temper, and now declining in his age, endeavoured rather to appeaſe theſe troubles by articles than by arms, and thereby left Harold too powerful for a ſubject, and aſpiring to the crown. Edward had no children; and though he ſeemed deſirous to leave the crown to his nephew, yet diſtruſting his weakneſs to defend it againſt ſo powerful a rival, it does not appear, or is not agreed among authors, whether he made any diſpoſition of it at his death, or no; or whether any ſuch, at leaſt, as was afterwards pretended.

Harold alledged, that he was appointed by Edward the Confeſſor to ſucceed him, was believed by ſome, and allowed by more, who followed his power, rather than his right, and was immediately after the king's death elected or admitted to the crown.

His firſt trouble was from his own brother, who, being the elder, had obtained aſſiſtance from Norway to ſet up a title or pretence to the kingdom, though he could have no other, but that his brother had uſurped it. Harold having marched into the north, overthrown his brother, and his army of ſtrangers or diſcontents, with great ſlaughter, at Stamford, was ſuddenly recalled by a more dangerous and fatal ſtorm from the ſouth. For William duke of Normandy, ſurnamed The Conqueror, was landed at Haſtings with a mighty army of ſtout Norman ſoldiers, to purſue a right he pretended to the ſucceſſion of the crown after the death of Edward. What this was, is but obſcurely proved or defended. But the pretext was, that Edward had by teſtament left him ſucceſſor of the crown; and that Harold, while he was laſt in Normandy, had likewiſe aſſured him of his aſſiſtance to advance him to the kingdom upon the death of the king; and the duke therefore ſent to put him in mind of that engagement. But Harold was in poſſeſſion, and admitting neither of theſe claims, reſolved to defend well

what he had gotten ill, ſince the apparent right was in Edgar Atheling, deſcended from the true Saxon race, and from a brother of Edward the Confeſſor. To decide theſe diſputes between the two powerful pretenders (while the juſt right lay unregarded for want of force to ſupport it) a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Haſtings, which continued for a whole day, with great bravery and ſlaughter on both ſides; but ended with the death of Harold, moſt of the braveſt captains, and above ſixty thouſand ſoldiers of the Engliſh nation, who reſolved to defend a domeſtic uſurper againſt a foreign invader; and by the loſs of their lives made eaſy way for the undiſputed ſucceſſion of William the Conqueror to the crown of England, about the year 1066, or, as ſome account, 1068.

This Norman prince was natural ſon of Robert the ſixth duke of Normandy, by Arlette, a very beautiful virgin of Falaize, with whom he fell in love, as ſhe ſtood gazing at her door, whilſt he paſſed through that town: ſo that he was the iſſue of a ſudden and ſtrong inclination; like a noble plant, raiſed in a hot bed, which gave it ſuch force and vigour, as made it proſper and grow to ſo great a height: nor is it unlikely, that the ancient heroes derived themſelves from ſome gods, to cover the misfortunes or follies, the rapes or loves of ſome fair maidens, or elſe the paſſions of ſome frail wives, who loved a gallant better than a huſband: and the force of ſuch encounters might have part in the conſtitution of a young hero, and give a natural vigour, ſpirit, and luſtre to the children, from the flames wherein they were conceived. It is certain, this young conqueror owed his greatneſs to his birth, and his fortunes to his perſonal merit, from the ſtrength of his temper and vigour of his mind: for he had a body of iron, as well as a heart of ſteel; yet his intellectuals were, at leaſt, equal to his other natural advantages; and he appears as wiſe in his politic

litic inſtitutions, as he was bold in his enterprizes, or brave and fortunate in the atchievement of his great adventures.

His father Robert, growing old, fell into a fit of devotion frequent enough in that age, which made him reſolve upon a viſit to the holy ſepulchre: his nobles uſed all arguments they could to diſſuade him, but chiefly from the want of lawful iſſue, and the competition like to ariſe upon his death between ſeveral great pretenders, which might prove dangerous to his country, and perhaps fatal to the Norman ſtate. But he perſiſted in the deſign of his journey; and told them, he had a young ſon, that he believed certainly to be his own, and of whoſe perſon and diſpoſition he had great hopes, and therefore reſolved to leave him his ſucceſſor in the duchy; recommended him to their care and loyalty, and appointed the king of France to be his guardian, and the duke of Britain his governor, who was one of the faireſt pretenders to the ſucceſſion of that duchy, after the failing of Robert's line: an unuſual ſtrain or teſtimony of the good faith and meaning of that age, where honour was ſo much more in requeſt than intereſt, that ſuch a prince could truſt a ſon of reproached birth and diſputed right, to a powerful neighbour, the likelieſt to invade him, and to a pretender that ſtood the faireſt to conteſt his title.

The prince was not above nine or ten years old, when duke Robert cauſed his nobles and chief Norman ſubjects to ſwear fealty to him, and afterwards carried him to do homage to Henry I. king of France, for the duchy of Normandy, according to the cuſtom of the former dukes, ſince their firſt accords with that crown, after their conqueſts and eſtabliſhments in that part of France, which was before called Neuſtry, and took the name of Normandy from thoſe fierce invaders: theſe coming from the coaſts of Norway, in two ſeveral

ral expeditions, with mighty numbers of a brave, but barbarous people, had, about two hundred years before, firſt ravaged the coaſts of Holland and Flanders, then entered the mouth of the Seine, ſubjected the country by unreſiſted arms; then taking the city of Rouen, capital of that province, upon compoſition, and made inroads from thence into the Iſle of France, and near Paris itſelf, with ſuch fury and ſucceſs, that the king of France, embroiled then at home, thought fit to tame theſe lions, rather than longer to oppoſe them, and threw them that noble and fruitful morſel of Normandy to aſſuage their hunger; yielding it up wholly to their leader Roul upon conditions of his turning Chriſtian, and his holding that duchy from the crown of France, for him and his ſucceſſors.

After theſe ceremonies were paſſed of the homages received in Normandy, and given in France, the old duke Robert delivered his young ſon himſelf into the hands and tutelage of the French king, upon the confidence of great ſervices he had formerly done him in diſputes about the crown; and immediately after theſe tranſactions began his voyage into Aſia, where he lived not long, and left his ſon to be the founder of his own fortunes, rather than heir of his father's, which he found expoſed to all ſorts of dangers from the tenderneſs of his age, the reproach of his birth, a ſuſpected guardian, a diſputed title, and a diſtracted ſtate.

After the news of duke Robert's deceaſe, the nobles of Normandy, by him intruſted with the government during his ſon's minority, found themſelves ſoon involved in many difficulties by the open factions of ſome nobles who envied their greatneſs, and by the private practices of others, who, being derived from ſome of the former dukes, reſolved to ſet up their pretences to the ſucceſſion, but maſqued their deſigns at

firſt, and herded with the common diſcontents againſt the preſent adminiſtration. The governors, faithful to the truſt repoſed in them by the father, and the fealty they had ſworn to the ſon, eſteemed the preſence of the young prince neceſſary to ſupport their authority and his title, and thereupon prevailed with the king of France to ſend him into Normandy; which he did accordingly, with great honour to himſelf and kindneſs to the young duke, as well as ſatisfaction to all his loyal ſubjects; but to the diſappointment of thoſe who pretended their diſcontents rather againſt the governors than the ſucceſſion.

No prince ever came ſo early into the cares and thorns of a crown, nor felt them longer, engaged in difficulties and toils, in hardſhips and dangers; his life expoſed to the arms of enemies, the plots of aſſaſſins; his reign embroiled by the revolts of his ſubjects, the invaſions of his neighbours, and his whole life, though very long, ſpent in the neceſſary and dangerous defence of his own title and dominion, or in the ambitious deſigns of acquiring greater: yet none ever ſurmounted all with more conſtancy of mind, prudence of conduct, and felicity of fortune. By all which he ſeems born to have been rather a great prince than a happy man.

His firſt conteſts and dangers aroſe from the declared competition of the pretenders to the ſucceſſion of the duchy, who, favoured by the defects of his birth, and grounding their title upon their own legitimate deſcent, found ſo many followers at home, and ſuch aſſiſtance from ſome neighbouring princes, that, agreeing together againſt the preſent poſſeſſor, though diſputing among themſelves upon their own rights, they raiſed great forces, and conſtrained the young duke to appear, not only at the head of his councils,

but

but of his armies too, by that time he was full ſeventeen years old.

Theſe civil wars continued long with many various ſucceſſes, bloody encounters, defeating and recruiting of troops, ſurpriſing, ſacking, beſieging, relieving of towns, and waſting of countries; till at laſt the duke, by his vigilance, prudence, courage, and induſtry, ſubdued totally, not only the forces, but the hearts of all his competitors and enemies at home, and forced them to quit both Normandy and France, and ſeek new fortunes, or at leaſt protection, in Italy, under the banners and ſervice of thoſe northern princes who had firſt, by aſſiſting their friends, and then purſuing their own fortunes, made themſelves maſters of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. So great was the proweſs and conduct of thoſe brave Norman adventurers, that from Truhans, as the French called them, becauſe they could not ſtay at home, but left their own country to ſeek room in foreign and diſtant regions, they became poſſeſſors and ſovereigns, in leſs than two hundred years, of one noble duchy in France, a great kingdom in the beſt parts of Italy, and a greater yet, and more renowned, in the Britiſh iſle, and thereby exchanged the ſavage woods and barren mountains of Norway for three of the fruitfulleſt, faireſt, and moſt pleaſant countries in the weſtern parts of Europe, and which had been obſerved, both before and ſince, to produce the braveſt bodies and courages of any provinces among their neighbour nations.

The defeats and final overthrows of competitors at home gave duke William no long quiet; for another appeared from abroad, more dangerous than any of the former: this was Martel earl of Anjou, that was not only a prince of great poſſeſſions, but yet more formidable by the alliance and aſſiſtance of the king of France, who, jealous of the Norman greatneſs, thought it both wiſe and juſt to prevent its farther growth,

and abate a neighbour's power before it grew too high, and, perhaps, out of his reach, by the conduct, ambition, and fortune of ſuch an aſpiring prince.

To this end, and upon ſmall pretences (which never fail a ſtrong invader) he encouraged, if not ſet on foot, the earl of Anjou's pretenſions to the duchy of Normandy, gave him firſt his countenance and aſſiſtance to juſtify his claim, and purſue it by arms, but, by degrees, engaged in an open and declared war againſt the duke: this he proſecuted with much paſſion and violence, employing in it not only all the forces he could raiſe, but his own perſon to command them, attended by many the chief nobles of his kingdom, and many great perſons of his allies.

Duke William loſt nothing of his temper or courage upon the approaches of ſo great a ſtorm, but prepared firſt for his defence; till fluſhed with ſucceſs in many encounters, and truſting to the bravery and affections of his army, though much inferior to the French, he brought the quarrel to the deciſion of two fierce battles in two pitched fields: the firſt ended in an intire victory on the duke's ſide, with the ſlaughter of three parts of his enemies, amounting to above thirty thouſand men. This loſs, however, rather inraged than diſcouraged the king of France, who gave himſelf or his enemies no quiet, till he engaged the Normans in a ſecond battle with greater forces and rage on both ſides, but with the ſame ſucceſs the former had ended. In this field the king of France loſt the flower of his army, the greateſt part of his nobles, and hardly eſcaped himſelf in perſon. But that little availed this unfortunate prince, who was ſo ſenſible of the loſs, and, as he thought, diſhonour, received by ſo unequal a match, that he had not the heart to ſurvive it long, but died of grief, and thereby gave an end to this war, and left duke William a calm and peaceable reign, till he diſturbed his own and his neighbour's

quiet

quiet by new and greater adventures. But to diſcover their cauſes, and judge better the events, we muſt have recourſe to the accidents of the former reigns both in England and Normandy, and the great commerce and intelligences that were thereby grown, for many years paſt, between theſe two courts and nations.

Edward, for his piety ſurnamed The Confeſſor, the laſt king of the Saxon race in England, had, by the perſecution of his enemies under the reign of Hardecnute the Dane, been forced to leave England, and ſeek ſhelter in Normandy, where he was kindly received, nobly entertained by the duke, lived long there with many Engliſh who adhered to his right, followed his fortunes, and ſhared in the cauſes and reliefs of his baniſhments; ſome found employments, others alliances, all, favour and kind reception in Normandy. Theſe mutual good offices produced ſo much kindneſs between the givers and receivers, that it is by ſome writers reported, king Edward, during his reſidence in the Norman court, promiſed duke Robert, that in caſe he recovered the kingdom of England, and died without iſſue, he would leave him the crown. The firſt happening, and Edward reſtored by the power of earl Godwin, or rather the general diſcontents of the Engliſh againſt the Daniſh race and government, it is certain, king Edward, after his reſtoration, or rather firſt acceſſion to the crown, ever appeared more favourable and partial to the Normans, than was well reſented by his Engliſh ſubjects in general; but earl Godwin and his ſon Harold were ſo offended, that they made it the cauſe or pretence of a dangerous inſurrection, and were forced, upon the ill ſucceſs thereof, to leave the kingdom, and fly into Flanders, though after reſtored and received by the king, rather by force than any free and willing conſent.

Duke William, after the end of his wars with France, had turned his thoughts to the common arts and entertainments of peace, regulating the abuſes of his ſtate, and the diſorders introduced by a long courſe of wars and violence, adorning his palaces and houſes of pleaſure, building churches and abbies, and endowing them with great bounty and piety: after which he made a journey into England, where he was received and entertained by king Edward with the ſame kindneſs himſelf had found in the Norman court; for which, like a good prince, he was much pleaſed to make this return of gratitude as well as juſtice. In this viſit, it is ſaid by ſome authors, that the duke gained ſo far upon the eſteem and kindneſs of the king, that he then renewed to the ſon in England the promiſe he had formerly made the father in Normandy, of leaving him the crown by teſtament in caſe he died without iſſue.

Some time after the duke's return, Harold, ſon to earl Godwin, and heir of his great poſſeſſions and dependencies in England, was forced by a ſtorm (as he at leaſt pretended) upon the coaſts of Normandy; and to refreſh himſelf after the toils and dangers of his ſea voyage, went firſt to the Norman court, and, after ſome ſtay there, to that of France; and was in both entertained like a perſon known to be of ſo great conſideration and power in England. But his laſt viſit at Paris was thought deſigned only to cover the true intention of his firſt in Normandy; where he engaged to aſſiſt that duke with all his friends and force in his claim to the crown of England upon king Edward's death; which happening not long after, William claimed the crown by virtue of a teſtament from that king, and of an engagement from Harold. But he, on the contrary, denied any ſuch teſtament from the deceaſed prince; alledged an appointment made by him at his death for Harold to ſucceed him; diſowned

owned any promiſe made in favour of the duke, and making the beſt uſe of the credit and authority gained by his father and himſelf, in a crazy and diſeaſed ſtate during the ſoft reign of a weak, though pious, king; Harold ſet up boldly for himſelf, without any reſpect of right beyond the peoples ſubmiſſion (interpreted for their conſent) and was elected king by thoſe nobles and commons of his friends, or indifferent perſons, who aſſembled at his coronation; leaving to Edgar Atheling an undoubted, but yet unregarded right of ſucceſſion; and to William, a diſputed plea from the alledged teſtament of the deceaſed king.

The duke, fond of thoſe ambitious hopes he had framed early and nouriſhed long, and ſpighted at the perfidious dealing of Harold towards him, and his inſolence towards the Engliſh nation, in ſeizing the king and government againſt all juſtice, or ſo much as pretence of right (which is commonly made uſe of to cover the moſt lawleſs actions) aſſembles his eſtates of Normandy, expoſes to them his claim to England; the wrong done him by Harold; his reſolutions of proſecuting both with his utmoſt power; the glory as well as juſtice of the enterprize; the hopes of ſucceſs from his own right; and the hatred in England of the uſurper, as well as the friends and intelligences he had in that kingdom; the greatneſs of ſpoils and poſſeſſions by the conqueſt of his enemies; and the ſhare he intended his friends and followers, according to each man's merit and contribution towards the advancement of his deſigns.

Though the generality of the Normans in this aſſembly were not at firſt very much moved by theſe diſcourſes, as either doubting the right or ſucceſs of ſo hazardous an adventure, yet they could not diſcourage what they were unwilling to promote, ſince they found the prince had it ſo much at heart; who prevailed with ſeveral of the greateſt biſhops and nobles of Nor-

mandy to make him a voluntary offer of what monies, men, and ſhips they would each of them furniſh towards this enterprize, as well as of their own perſonal attendance upon him in ſo noble and juſt a deſign.

This free and magnanimous offer of the greateſt among them, in ſome degree ſpirited not only the reſt of the aſſembly, but had much influence upon the people in general, who grew confident of the ſucceſs from the greatneſs and boldneſs of the undertakers, ſo as they fell into emulation who ſhould engage ſooneſt and contribute fartheſt upon this occaſion.

The duke, aſſiſted to his expectation by his ſubjects, began to practiſe upon the hopes and ambition of his neighbours, who, weary of the long quiet they had lived in at home ſince the part they had taken in the French and Norman wars, begun to grow fond of ſome new action, and look out for new adventures.

The duke had gained and deſerved ſo high eſteem and general reputation by the wiſe conduct of his government, both in peace and in war, by his juſtice and bounty, his valour and his clemency, that he was renowned not only among his ſubjects and his neighbours, but in the remoter regions of Germany and Italy; and found a concurrence in this deſign from many princes his friends, and ſome who had been his greateſt enemies: he was favoured and aſſiſted with money, or with ſoldiers, by the dukes of Britain and of Brabant, the counts of Bologne and Flanders, and his ancient competitor the earl of Anjou: by many princes of France, the moſt conſidered in that court; as, the duke of Orleans, earls of Poitou and Maine, excited by the honour of the enterprize or fame of the leader, at a time when the infancy of their king gave them no hopes of action at home, and left that crown unconcerned in what paſſed abroad. The emperor ſent ſome choice troops and experienced commanders to ſerve in this expedition; and the pope, induced by the

the fame of the duke's great virtues and piety in the whole courſe of his reign, which had now laſted above forty years, ſent him a banner he had bleſſed, with ſeveral relicts; and thereby was eſteemed, according to the devotion of thoſe times, to have juſtified his title and even ſanctified his arms.

With all theſe advantages, this brave duke began and finiſhed his mighty preparations by a general concurrence of his own nobles and ſubjects, and a confluence of moſt of the bold adventurous ſpirits in his neighbour provinces, led by the deſires of glory or of gains: the princes truſted his faith and his promiſes, which he had never forfeited; the knights and ſoldiers relied upon his valour and his fortune, which had never failed in the long and happy courſe of his reign.

What the number was of the army he brought over into England, is not diſtinctly related, or well agreed; but muſt be concluded to have been very great, by that of the ſhips wherein they were embarked, which were between eight and nine hundred: beſides, they were all choſen and brave troops, excellently diſciplined, commanded by gallant officers, ſtrongly united by the love of their prince, and encouraged by the common hatred of Harold his enemy both at home and abroad: a known uſurper, cruel in his nature, of Daniſh extraction, and thereby ungrateful to the Engliſh; a hater of his own blood, and who had never triumphed, but over his own brother; and by a bloody victory at Stamford had loſt the braveſt of his troops, as he had done before the hearts of his ſubjects.

The duke landed his army at Haſtings in Suſſex about the beginning of October; and expecting a general ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh to his right and title (pretended from the teſtament of Edward the Confeſſor) or the deſertion of Harold (as an uſurper) by his own army: he made at firſt no ſhew of invading a hoſtile country,

country, but rather of encamping in his own; forbidding all injuries to any of the inhabitants, and all ſpoil of the country about him: and ſo continued, with his whole army, in a quiet and peaceable manner, for about a fortnight, either to refreſh his troops, or to expect how his claim to the crown, and arrival upon it, would be received in England.

But after this time expired, he was ſoon rouſed by the approach of Harold, who returned from the defeat of his brother, and his Daniſh aſſiſtants, with all the forces he had employed in that expedition, and all he could invite or collect out of the country as he paſſed. The firſt were ſtanding troops, numerous and brave, which he kept for the defence of his perſon and title, knowing they were both generally hated in England. The laſt were ill-diſciplined, and worſe affected, and ſerved only to increaſe the number of his army, which was very great.

Upon approach of his enemies he ſent ſpies into the Norman camp, who were taken and courteouſly uſed by the duke; carried through all his troops, ſhewed their diſcipline and diſpoſal, and ſent back with rewards. At their return they told Harold, that the Normans looked rather like an army of prieſts than of ſoldiers, by their great ſilence and order in their camp, as well as by their faces being all ſhaved.

It is ſaid, the duke before the battle ſent an offer to Harold to decide the quarrel between them by ſingle combat, and thereby ſpare their ſubjects blood; which Harold refuſed, and ſaid, he would leave it to God to determine. Upon which his brother deſired him, that he would not be preſent at the battle, becauſe he had formerly ſworn to duke William to aſſiſt his title upon king Edward's death; and rather leave it to them who had a juſter cauſe, and ſhould fight only for defence of their country, and without breach of oath. But the courage of Harold was more than his

conſcience; and ſo both parties diſpoſed their armies for a pitched battle next morning, after the Engliſh had paſſed the night in ſongs and feaſting, and the Normans in much devotion.

The fight began with great fury and equal bravery, as well as order, on both ſides. The Engliſh were cruelly gauled by thick ſhowers of arrows from the Norman long-bows before the battle joined; which was a weapon then unuſed in England, and thereby the more ſurprizing, by wounds coming from enemies ſo far out of reach, and not ſuddenly to be revenged. But when they came up to cloſe fight, the Normans were hewed down by the Engliſh bills, which of all weapons gives the moſt ghaſtly and deplorable wounds. Beſides, their points were ſo ſtrong and ſo cloſe together, that no charges of the Norman horſe could break the Engliſh ranks, though the duke aſſaulted them ſo often and with ſo great bravery, that he had three horſes killed under him in the attempt. But finding them continue firm, he at length, by a ſignal, cauſed a ſudden flight to be feigned by his Normans that were more advanced; upon which the Engliſh, eaſily deceived by their own courage as well as hopes, began ſuch an eager purſuit, as by it they diſſolved their ranks, that had been otherwiſe impenetrable. Upon this incident, before expected, and ſoon diſcovered by the duke, and upon another ſignal given, the Normans returned with greater fury than before; broke into the diſordered body of the Engliſh, routed and purſued them to a riſing-ground, where their broken forces made a ſtand, fell again into order, and, encouraged by the ſpeeches, but more by the brave example of Harold, they renewed the fight, and made a mighty ſlaughter of the Normans, as they endeavoured to force them againſt the diſadvantage of the hill which they defended.

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The fierceneſs and obſtinacy of this memorable battle was often renewed by the courage of the leaders, where-ever that of the ſoldiers began to faint; till the Normans, leaving the aſſault of the hill, too obſtinately defended, and keeping a little diſtance, fell again to their arrows, with one of which Harold was ſhot quite through the head, and fell to the ground; and by his death gave the victory and the field to the Normans, which had hitherto continued doubtful on both ſides; and ſeemed thus far to have been fought with equal courage and with equal loſs. But the flight of the Engliſh, upon Harold's fall, ſoon determined it, and was followed by a long and bloody purſuit of the Normans, which laſted till night, and left mighty numbers of the Engliſh ſlain in the flight that had been ſafe in the battle; and the reſt of them wholly diſperſed, though covered by the night: ſo different are the effects of courage and of fear, and ſo juſt the rewards of both; the firſt, which ſeeks dangers, often avoids them; the other often runs into them by endeavouring to eſcape them: much greater numbers falling in all battles, by the purſuit of thoſe that fly, than by the ſlaughter of thoſe that fight.

Nothing ſeems to ſhew the greatneſs of England ſo much at this time, as that Harold ſhould be able to aſſemble ſo mighty an army to oppoſe this invaſion; and find above threeſcore thouſand men, brave enough not only to fight, but to loſe their lives in his defence: for ſo many are agreed to have been ſlain of the Engliſh at this battle of Haſtings, where he loſt his crown and his life together, and left the field, with the kingdom, to this brave Norman conqueror. This was the man, theſe the forces, and ſuch the circumſtances that contributed to ſo famous an enterprize, by which the fate of England was determined, in or about the year 1066.

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The duke, after this famous victory, reſolved not to loſe the fruits and advantages he had thereby gained (which is often done) for want of ſpeed or vigour in the proſecution, wherein celerity is ſometimes of more conſequence than force. Therefore, after the purſuit of his broken enemies, and a ſhort refreſhment of his own army, he began immediately his march towards London, where was all the ſtrength then left in the kingdom; believing, if he could be maſter of the head, the reſt of the body would follow without more ſtruggle or reſiſtance.

In his march he is ſaid to have exerciſed much cruelty towards all he found in arms, with great rigour and oppreſſion upon the other inhabitants, and ſpoil of the countries where he paſſed; till entering into a woody part of Kent, and advancing with his vanguard before the reſt of his army, he found himſelf almoſt environed with mighty numbers of the Kentiſhmen, who had concealed themſelves in the wood by carrying every man a great bough of a tree, like a ſhield, in his hand. But when they ſaw the Norman troops, and the duke at the head of them, within their danger, they began on a ſudden to march, like a moving wood, till approaching their enemies, they threw down their boughs, and diſcovered on all ſides a multitude of brave, armed men, ready to charge the Normans, that ſtood ſurprized and amazed at the ſtrangeneſs of the ſight, which appeared as if a wood had been, by ſome enchantment, transformed into an army; but the Kentiſhmen approaching made a halt, and ſent the abbot of St. Auſtin's to tell the duke, that all the men of that province were there aſſembled to defend their country and their liberties, or ſell their lives as dear as they could; that if he would ſwear to preſerve them in thoſe ancient laws and cuſtoms under which they and their anceſtors had ſo long lived, they were all ready to lay down their arms, and become his ſubjects;

jects; if not, he muſt prepare to fight with men that had reſolved to loſe their lives, rather than their liberties and laws. The duke, finding he was too far advanced to join the body of his army before he engaged, and unwilling to venture all his fortunes and hopes againſt ſuch numerous bands as theſe appeared, and of ſo deſperate men, granted to all the inhabitants of the province of Kent the preſervation and free enjoyment of all their ancient laws and cuſtoms under the Saxon reigns, ſwore the obſervance of his grant, received their homage, and ſo purſued his march. This is repreſented as a forced prelude to a ſubſequent voluntary act of this prince, whereby he made or confirmed the ſame conceſſion, in general, to all the reſt of the kingdom. And though this adventure of the Kentiſhmen be not recorded with great evidence of truth, or agreement of circumſtances, or of time (for ſome writers place it before his firſt arrival at London, others after, and upon an expedition to reduce the caſtle of Dover) yet it is related by ſo many authors, and is ſo generally received by vulgar tradition, that it ſeems not to be omitted: but when, or however it happened, or whether at all or no, is not material to the hiſtory of this prince, or to the following actions or inſtitutions of his reign.

In the city of London, beſides the great numbers, and riches of the inhabitants, were retired moſt of the great nobles of the kingdom, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, who had not been engaged in action of either ſide, and attended what would be the iſſue of this ſtrong and violent convulſion of the ſtate. Upon deciſion of the laſt battle, they all conſulted together with the citizens what was beſt to be adviſed and done for their common intereſt and ſafety, as well as of the whole kingdom; which was like to run their fate by following their example. Many of the ſecular nobles were for collecting what forces they could and making

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king a ſtand, either in the field or in the town; and thereby trying their fortunes, or, at the worſt, making conditions; for they could not bear that their great poſſeſſions and lands ſhould lie at the mercy of a prince whoſe will might be as boundleſs as his power, and who had ſo great a train to be rewarded at their coſt, and by the ſpoils, if he pleaſed, of the whole kingdom.

The citizens feared the hoſtile entrance of an incenſed army upon a weak reſiſtance, and the ſudden loſs of their poſſeſſions, which, conſiſting chiefly in moveables, might be ſeized in a day, and diſſipated, paſt any recovery, by the very grace of the prince, or ſucceeding compoſition between him and the reſt of the kingdom: they thought no forces could be collected, either in time, upon ſo ſudden an approach, or with ſtrength enough to make oppoſition, in a body that had loſt ſo much blood, and without a head to command them, or, upon any treaty, to manage their common intereſt to the beſt advantage; and ſo they were diſpoſed to ſubmit to what they eſteemed the fate of the kingdom. The archbiſhops, biſhops, and the reſt of the clergy, were a ſort of ſtate apart, within the ſtate itſelf, having a juriſdiction independent (as they pretended, and were uſually allowed in that age) upon the ſecular power; they held their lands and poſſeſſions in the kingdom by another tenure than the laity pretended, and feared not to loſe them under any prince that was a Chriſtian, which made them more indifferent of what race or by what title he held the crown; and ſo more eaſy to fall in with the ſtream of any changes or new revolutions: beſides, they were poſſeſſed with the fame of this prince's piety, and the opinion of his right having been determined by the pope's approving and aſſiſting it with his benediction. They thought, as well as the citizens, that this torrent was not to be reſiſted; that a faint and fruitleſs oppoſition

ſition would but exaſperate the duke, and make him continue, as well as begin his reign, like a conqueror; and therefore eſteemed the wiſeſt part was to acknowledge his right, and thereby tempt or perſuade him into a ſafer and eaſier form of government, both for himſelf and his ſubjects, as a juſt and lawful king.

The clergy was in very great authority at this time, and, among all ſorts of people in the kingdom, having enjoyed and exerciſed it here during the whole courſe of the Saxon reigns, after thoſe kings became Chriſtians, in this iſland (nor could any other authority riſe ſo high, and ſpread ſo far, as growing from ſo many roots) they were allowed to be the guides and inſtructors of mankind in all ſpiritual worſhip and divine ſervice, and even the diſpenſers of thoſe graces and forfeitures upon which depended the rewards or puniſhments of a future ſtate; which, being greater and longer than thoſe of this life, gave them more influence upon the minds of men than any ſecular juriſdiction that can extend nofarther: they had mighty poſſeſſions in lands throughout the kingdom, as well as other riches from the bounty of pious princes, or devout and innocent people, and from many others, who thought to expiate crimes or cover ill lives by theſe kinds of donation to the church. Theſe poſſeſſions were eſteemed ſacred, and, as much went into this ſtock every age, ſo nothing ever went out; and all the lands in the kingdom might, in the courſe of ages, have held of the church, if this current had not been ſtopped by the ſtatute of Mortmain in the time of Edward the Firſt. It is recorded, that of ſixty-two thouſand knights fees that were reckoned in England during the reign of this firſt Norman king, there were in that of king John twenty-eight thouſand in the hands of the church. This gave the clergy (by the dependencies

dances of those that held under them in so great numbers) a secular power annexed to their ecclesiastical authority: they had, besides, all the little learning which was in those ignorant ages, and passes for wisdom among those who want both; gives a faculty, at least, of discoursing, though, perhaps, not of judging better than others, and gains more attention and easier applause from vulgar auditors. Lastly, they were united, more than any other state, upon one common bottom, and in pursuit of one common interest, which was always pretended to be the greatness of the holy church; but indeed was their own, and the honours, power, and riches of the churchmen, rather than of the church. By these circumstances, and the advantage of such a complicated strength, the clergy came to such an authority, that they were arbiters, if not of all affairs, at least of all contests in the kingdom, and turned the balance which way soever they fell in; were still applied to by the weaker, and often by the unjuster side; had the chief sway, and were the chiefest instruments in all those many revolutions of state, irregular successions, and even usurpations of the crown, that happened between the time of the conquest, and the reign of Henry the Third; which may be easily observed, and cannot easily be wondered at, by all who read the story of those reigns, and consider what has been said upon this subject, important enough to excuse this digression.

But to return to our conqueror, upon his march to London, and the consultations there how to receive him. The opinions and counsels of the bishops and ecclesiastics easily prevailed, and seem to have had more reason, as well as authority, than the rest: so it was unanimously resolved, not only to submit to a power they could not oppose, but to acknowledge a title they would not dispute. The duke, upon his approach to the city, was received with open gates and

open arms, at leaſt without the appearance of any reluctance or diſcontent, any more than of reſiſtance: he claimed the crown at his arrival, by the teſtament of king Edward the Confeſſor, without any mention of conqueſt, which was infinitely grateful to all the nobles and commons of the realm; whether it was a ſtrain of his own prudence and good natural ſenſe, or a perſuaſion of thoſe Engliſh who had either aſſiſted or invited his invaſion, or apprehenſion of ſo great and brave a people, if offended by the name of conqueſt, and irritated by the dangers or fears of a lawleſs and arbitrary power, to which they had not yet their hearts or ſtrength broken enough eaſily to ſubmit.

He was crowned king at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of York, who with Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, had been the great promoters of thoſe councils by which he entered upon ſo peaceable a beginning of his reign. At his coronation he took the oath uſual in the times both of the Saxon and Daniſh kings; which was, to protect and defend the church, to obſerve the laws of the realm, and to govern his people juſtly: after which he cauſed fealty to be ſworn to him by all the biſhops, barons, and nobles, with the magiſtrates of the city, who had aſſiſted or attended at his coronation, and thereupon found himſelf on a ſudden ſettled in a calm and quiet poſſeſſion of a crown he had ſo long aſpired to, and ſo lately won by one ſingle, though violent blow.

This king was about two-and-fifty years old upon his acceſſion to this crown, and is, perhaps, the only inſtance found in ſtory, either before or ſince, in this iſland, or the reſt of the world, that began and atchieved any great and famous enterprize after that age; whether the decline of nature leaves not vigour enough for ſuch deſigns or actions; or fortune, like her ſex, have no kindneſs left for old men, how much ſoever

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ſhe favoured them when they were young: but the talents of age, which are prudence and moderation, learnt beſt in the ſchool of experience, and ſeldom joined, if conſiſtent, with the warm paſſions of youth, were now as neceſſary to this prince, for the conſervation of his kingdom, as his long, induſtrious application, and bold execution, had been for acquiring it; and how much he excelled in theſe qualities will be ſeen by the ſequel of his reign.

He conſidered very wiſely, that though he had gained the crown by the aſſiſtance of foreign forces, and by the deciſion of arms, yet theſe might not always be ſo proſperous, if too often tried, and the number or ſtrength of his foreigners bore no proportion to thoſe of ſo brave and populous a nation, if they ſhould unite on any bottom of common diſcontents, of dangers, or of fears, and that the ſafety and peace of his new acquired dominion could be preſerved only by the general ſatisfaction and ſecurity of his Engliſh ſubjects: and this was his firſt care, and was the beſt provided for by the two firſt actions of his reign; one was, that as he had claimed the crown only from the teſtament of king Edward, and wholly avoided that odious name of conqueſt, ſo he expreſſed, upon all occaſions, his reſolution to govern the kingdom as a legal prince, and leave the ancient laws and liberties of the Engliſh nation as they had before enjoyed them: the other was, that as he drew no blood but what was ſpilt in the field, ſo he ſeized only the lands and eſtates of thoſe who had been in arms againſt him before his acceſſion to the crown, or after that time, by any revolt or new oppoſitions.

This wiſe counſel made a clear and ſudden diſtinction between thoſe Engliſh that were to feel any ill effects by this late revolution, and the reſt who were left out of danger, and in the ſame ſtate they enjoyed under the race of their former lawful kings, and ſo but little

ſenſible of the change: the forfeited eſtates and lands were, indeed, ſeized with great ſeverity, but the greateſt part of the proprietors were ſilent in the grave, having been ſlain in the battle of Haſtings, and purſuit of that victory; thoſe who remained alive being at once deſpoiled of all their poſſeſſions, were broken in their hearts, maimed in their intereſt among their neighbours; and being but few throughout the kingdom, in compariſon of thoſe that were ſafe, their loſſes or complaints were little regarded by the reſt, but, like wounded deer, were deſerted, and even avoided by the herd.

Upon the coronation of the king at London, with the concurrence of nobles and people in that city, and his care in publiſhing throughout the ſeveral counties theſe two reſolutions concerning the ſafety of their properties and laws, all the inhabitants of both the adjacent and remoter counties, and of what degree ſoever, not only with univerſal conſent ſubmitted to his government as to a decree of heaven, but moſt of them began to expreſs, or at leaſt pretend, a common joy at the fate of the late uſurper and the proſperous fortunes of the preſent king.

His next care was the ſatisfaction of thoſe many and brave adventurers and ſoldiers who had followed him in this expedition; which he endeavoured to make with juſtice to his promiſe, and to their ſeveral merits, as far as the forfeited lands and revenues would reach, or any treaſures or debts be found here belonging to the crown: the lands of the Engliſh barons who had oppoſed him, he divided among the Norman barons that had attended him; thoſe of the commoners among the ſoldiers; what offices were vacant he ſupplied with ſuch as he had not lands or money to reward; ſuch of the Normans as he could not clear accounts with at preſent by any of theſe ways, he diſtributed into the rich and numerous abbies of the kingdom,

dom, to be there entertained till new employments ſhould fall, or new forfeitures, or new ſupplies ſhould come into the king's coffers, by the large revenues of the crown, or the wiſe management of his treaſures; which had always been a virtue of this prince, and exerciſed in his lower fortunes, as far as could agree with the bounty of his nature, towards thoſe who deſerved it by their merits or their ſervices.

The proviſion he made for ſo many poor Normans, by diſpoſing them among the rich monaſteries, to ſhare in their plenty, ſeemed, at leaſt, a temporary impoſition upon the clergy, and a breach of thoſe immunities they had enjoyed in the Saxon reign: for though one chief end of the large donations made by ſo many princes and pious ſubjects to the church, was intended for charitable uſes, by relief of the poor, and the hoſpitable entertainment of paſſengers, pilgrims, and ſtrangers, yet this uſe was left voluntary, and at the choice of thoſe who poſſeſſed theſe revenues: the Normans ſent among them were indeed ſtrangers and poor, but yet the moſt charitable monks had little mind to relieve them, or, if they had, were not willing to receive them within their convents, to be not only ſharers of their proviſions, but obſervers of their actions; however, they complied at preſent with the deſires of the king, or the neceſſity of the times, yet they generally took it ill of the king, and for a diminution of thoſe immunities, or of that favour they had enjoyed under former reigns: ſome thought he had an envious eye at the vaſt riches of the clergy; others, that he was jealous of their power, and ſuſpected their affections to his perſon and government, and apprehended as eaſy a change among them, upon the approach of any new revolution, as they had ſhewed upon the laſt, in his own favour. That for theſe reaſons he had diſperſed his Normans as ſo many guards, or, at leaſt, as ſo many ſpies among them: whatever

it was, it is certain this action bred the firſt unkindneſs of the clergy towards this king, and being followed by two other ſtrains of the ſame nature (which will be obſerved in their time) left an impoſition upon his memory of hardſhip, cruelty, oppreſſion, or exaction, which he deſerved as little as other princes that have a fairer character in ſtory and common opinion. For the monks having been the only writers remaining of theſe times, as well as ſome ſucceeding reigns, have left a tincture of their paſſions upon the actions of the firſt kings of this Norman race, and painted their virtues and vices in fairer or fouler colours, according to the ideas they had framed of them and their ſeveral diſpoſitions or actions, in favour or prejudice of the church; that is, of eccleſiaſtical perſons or privileges: ſuch an authority have the pens of learned writers always claimed and poſſeſſed, as to paſs the definitive ſentence upon the memories of the greateſt princes in the vulgar opinion of poſterity. Nor is it evident whether the invidious name of conqueror, which this king had ſo carefully avoided, were entailed upon him by the flattery of his friends, or the malice of his enemies; among whom the monkiſh writers ſeem to have been the chief and moſt inveterate.

Whatever motions were raiſed upon this occaſion in the minds of the clergy, none appeared in the reſt of the body of the realm, or maſs of the people: moſt were ſatisfied, becauſe they either liked their new king, or hated their laſt uſurper: ſome were indifferent to both, while their eſtates and liberties were out of danger; and ſuch who were diſpleaſed with either, diſguiſed their reſentment, or were not taken notice of in the crowd. All conſpired to make ſo great a calm ſucceed in the kingdom, as is uſual after a great ſtorm is over, that the king, having paſſed ſome months here in the cares and for the ſettlement of his new do-

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minions in England, made a journey to viſit his old in Normandy, about the beginning of the ſummer, having been crowned at Weſtminſter on Chriſtmas-day.

Whether this was undertaken upon any neceſſity of his affairs on that ſide, or to ſettle them ſo as not to interrupt him here, where he intended to reſide, is not known; or whether he took a pleaſure and a pride to ſhew both his ſubjects, and his neighbour princes, how ſecure he eſteemed himſelf in his new-acquired dominions; but it looks like a ſtrain of his uſual boldneſs and fearleſs temper, and ſucceeded well, like the reſt of his councils and reſolutions: yet was not this journey undertaken without prudence and caution, in the choice of thoſe hands with whom he left the government in his abſence, and of thoſe perſons he engaged to accompany him in the voyage. He committed the rule of the kingdom to his brother Odin biſhop of Bayeux, and to Fitz Aubar his near kinſman, whom he had lately made earl of Hereford. He took with him into Normandy, Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, though a great inſtrument in his eaſy and peaceable admiſſion to the crown, yet had been diſcontented at his coronation, which had been performed by the archbiſhop of York, upon pretence of ſome fault or queſtion about the other's inveſtiture; with him he took ſeveral other biſhops, the earls Edwin and Morchar, two perſons of great power and dependances, with many other Engliſh noblemen, of whoſe faith or affections he was the leaſt confident; and beſides theſe, he took with him a greater and much more conſiderable hoſtage for the quiet of England, though under colour of honouring him, or being honoured by his company; this was Edgar, ſurnamed Atheling, nephew to Edward the Confeſſor, and deſigned by him for ſucceſſor, as was divulged among thoſe of his ſubjects, that neither favoured the right or pretenſions of Harold, or the Norman duke. He had many diſadvantages to

balance and weigh down his right, which was undiſputed; as, his foreign birth and breeding, which was in Hungary, during his father's exile under the reign of Hardecnute; the perſecution and hatred of his grandmother Emma, a woman celebrated in her time for the ſuſpicion and clearing of her chaſtity by the Saxon trial of fire ordeal; but who having married Hardecnute, after the death of her firſt huſband, had ever after more inclination to the Daniſh than the Saxon race: beſides, Edgar, though of ſo good and virtuous diſpoſitions, as made him be ſtiled England's darling; yet they were ſuch as ſeemed to become an excellent private perſon, rather than a prince, or, at leaſt, to have adorned an eaſy and peaceful poſſeſſion of a crown, rather than to force his way to a legal right, through the difficulties and oppoſition of two powerful pretenders. However, an undiſputed right (which, they ſay, never dies) had left him ſo many friends in the kingdom, that the king thought it not ſafe to leave him behind, upon his going into Normandy, nor wiſe to tempt either him or his new Engliſh ſubjects with ſuch an opportunity of raiſing any commotions upon ſo fair a pretence.

Beſides theſe cautions, he took with him moſt of his French adventurers into Normandy, finding they were not very agreeable here, either to the Engliſh, or to the Normans, and pretending he was not able to clear his accounts with all that aſſiſted him, out of the revenues or forfeitures here, and that he would find out ways of ſatisfying them either in Normandy, or by his credit and recommendations to other princes, where his own bounty or abilities could not reach.

During his ſtay in Normandy, which was no leſs than the whole ſummer, his new government in England continued quiet and peaceable; though one Erick, called The Foreſter, endeavoured to diſturb it, by calling in ſome looſe forces of the Welſh, his neighbours, into

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Herefordſhire; but he was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and they eaſily forced back into their own mountains by the vigilance of the governors, and the vigour of thoſe forces he had left here, diſpoſed with ſuch order into the ſeveral counties, as to give way or time to no growing dangers that ſhould ariſe in any one corner, or from any ſingle diſcontent, while the general humour of the people was calm, and either ſatisfied with the change, or at a gaze how this new world was like to end. So that the king, after having ſettled his affairs in Normandy to his mind, returned before winter to enjoy the fruits of ſo many dangers and toils as his life had been engaged in, reſolving to ſpend the remainder of it in England, as the nobler ſcene and greater dominion, and to cultivate with care an acquiſition he had gained himſelf with much hazard and pains, and with greater glory.

The king at his return into England, finding his new dominion had continued calm and peaceable under the authority of his brother and council, had reaſon to believe it would eaſily be preſerved ſo under his own. For, as the abſence of an ill prince ſeldom fails of raiſing diſquiets and commotions among the people, in a government which is obeyed only from fear; ſo nothing contributes more to the ſatisfaction and obedience of ſubjects, than the preſence of a good king; and this is the reaſon why all diſtant provinces, governed by commiſſions or ſubordinate authorities, are ſo ſubject to frequent ſeditions and revolts, how lawfully ſoever they are inherited, or how well ſoever they are eſtabliſhed after any new conqueſt or acquiſition; the force and influence of authority growing ſtill weaker by the change of hands and diſtance of place: this diſpoſed the new king to the reſolution he took at this time, of making England the ſeat of his perſon, as well as empire, and governing Normandy by his lieutenants; thereby forcing the common affections of birth,

birth, or education and cuſtom, to yield and comply with reaſons of ſtate, and preferring a foreign to his natural ſoil, though, perhaps, ſeated in a better climate, and at that time more adorned and civilized by the commerce of France, and other countries upon the continent.

With this reſolution and in this ſecurity he applied himſelf at his return to the arts of peace, and the orders of his ſtate, wherein he as well excelled as in thoſe of war, and was framed, not only for a great prince, but for a good; to which he was inclined by the bounty and clemency of his natural diſpoſitions, by the ſtrength and foundneſs of his judgment, and by the experience of his age: his firſt care was to provide for the due adminiſtration and execution of laws and juſtice throughout his realm; and the next was, to introduce order into the common courſe of his revenue, and manage it with ſo great proportion of his expence to his receipts, as might neither leave the crown in neceſſities, nor the ſubjects in fears of new or lawleſs exactions and oppreſſions; juſtice being the very foundation of government, as treaſure is ſaid to be the ſinew of war.

For the firſt; as he had ſworn at his coronation to govern by the laws of the realm; ſo he continued the ancient cuſtoms and liberties of the people, that were called the common law of the kingdom, which he cauſed to be in ſubſtance obſerved, both in what concerned the crown and the ſubject, though he introduced ſeveral new forms in the adminiſtration or execution of them: beſides the ancient laws or cuſtoms that concerned the deſcent of private inheritances, or the penalties upon ſeveral crimes, there were two fundamental laws of the Saxon or Engliſh kingdom: the trial by juries of twelve men, wherein conſiſted the chief ſafety of mens properties and lives; and the borough-law, which was the greateſt ſecurity that had been invented by

by the wiſdom of our Saxon anceſtors, for the peace and order of the realm. The firſt, I know, is by ſome authors mentioned as having been introduced by this Norman king out of the laws of that country: but I think it evident to have been an inſtitution very antient among the Saxons, and to have been derived and obſerved during the whole ſucceſſion of the Engliſh kings, and even in the Daniſh reigns, without any interruption. Nor does there want ſome traces or appearances of it, from the very firſt inſtitutions of Odin, the firſt great leader of the Aſiatick Goths or Getæ into Europe, and the founder of that mighty kingdom round the Baltic ſea, from whence all the Gothic governments in theſe north-weſt parts of the world were derived, by the ſpreading conqueſts of thoſe northern races.

It is recorded, that upon the beginning of his expedition, he ordained a council of twelve men, who ſhould judge and decide all matters that came in queſtion: and there being then no other laws eſtabliſhed among thoſe vaſt numbers of rough people, going to ſeek out new conqueſts, and thereby ſeats to inhabit; it is probable, theſe twelve men judged all caſes upon evidence or matter of fact, and then gave their ſentence, and appointed penalties according to what they eſteemed moſt agreeable to juſtice and equity, ſo as the twelve men were at firſt both jurors and judges: their judgments in cauſes both real and criminal being generally approved as juſt and equitable, grew into precedent to ſucceeding judges, and being received by general ſubmiſſion, introduced the cuſtom of certain ſentences being pronounced in certain cauſes, and certain puniſhments being uſually inflicted upon certain crimes. In proceſs of time, and multiplicity of buſineſs, the matter of fact continued to be tried by twelve men; but the adjudgment of the puniſhment, and the ſentence thereupon, came to be given by one or

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two, or more perſons, choſen out of ſuch as were beſt verſed in the knowledge of what had been uſual in former judgments upon like caſes; and as the firſt part was left to the equals or neighbours of the perſons accuſed (as moſt likely to do juſtice to one of their own rank or acquaintance) ſo the other was committed to perſons of learning or knowledge in the ancient cuſtoms, records, or traditions of what had long paſſed in the courſe of juſtice among that nation: thus we find it evident, that in the Saxon reigns in England, cauſes were adjudged by the aldermen and biſhop of the ſeveral ſhires, with the aſſiſtance of twelve men of the ſame county, who are ſaid to have been judges or aſſiſtants to the two firſt, by ſuch as affirm or pretend this manner of trial to have been drawn by the conqueror himſelf out of Normandy, who is thereby ſaid to have introduced in this, as well as ſome other forms, the Norman laws into the common law of England. It is true, that the ſame cuſtom or trial was uſed in Normandy before the conqueſt, and it is moſt probable, that neither the Engliſh received it from the Normans, nor theſe from the Engliſh; but that both nations, deriving their original from thoſe ancient Goths, agreed in ſeveral cuſtoms or inſtitutions deduced from their common anceſtors, which made this trial by juries continue uninterrupted in England, not only by the Normans, but by the Danes alſo, who were but another ſwarm of that great northern hive. It is true, the terms of jury and verdict were introduced by the Normans, with many others in the ſtile and practice of our laws; but the trials by twelve men, with that eſſential circumſtance of their unanimous agreement, was not only uſed among the Saxons and Normans, but is known to have been as ancient in Sweden, as any records or traditions of that kingdom, which was the firſt ſeat of the Gothic dominions in the north-weſt

parts of Europe, and it ſtill remains in ſome provinces of that country. However, king William cauſed this to be obſerved as the common law of the kingdom, and thereby gave great and univerſal ſatisfaction to the body of the people, both Engliſh and Normans.

The boough-law had been likewiſe anciently eſtabliſhed among the Saxons, whereby every ſhire was divided into ſo many hundreds or boroughs, conſiſting at firſt of one hundred families therein uſually inhabiting; every hundred into ſo many tithings, conſiſting of ten families. If any perſon committed, or were accuſed of any crime, the tithing to which he belonged was bound to produce him to juſtice before the court of the hundred or county: if he fled, they were to ſwear they were not accomplices of the fact, and that they would procure the criminal, whenever they could find him; if this failed, in a certain time, they would diſcover all the goods he was poſſeſſed of within their tithing, to ſatisfy the damage done to a ſubject, or a fine to the king upon ſuch an offence; if neither perſon nor eſtate appeared, then the tithing was anſwerable to a certain proportion; and if that were not ſufficient, then it was laid upon the hundred. By this means it became every man's intereſt, as well as his duty, to prevent all crimes and miſdemeanors among their neighbours, and to diſcover the criminals, ſince they were otherwiſe to ſhare in the penalty; and as the reſt of the tithing was bound for the behaviour of every freeman among them, ſo every lord or maſter was bound to anſwer in the ſame maner for their ſervants.

I know not whether any conſtitution of government, either ancient or modern, ever invented or inſtituted any law or order, of greater wiſdom, or of greater force, to preſerve the peace and ſafety of any ſtate, and of equal utility to the prince and people, making

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virtue and innocence of life ſo neceſſary, by the eaſy apprehenſion or diſcovery, and certain puniſhment of offenders. This law the king cauſed likewiſe to be ſeverely obſerved during his reign, finding therein his own intereſt as well as his peoples, and the great ſecurity of his new-ſettled government.

He confirmed all mens properties, inheritances, and ſucceſſions, invading none, either for his own benefit, or reward of his Norman forces, or friends, excepting the poſſeſſions of ſuch as had oppoſed his claim to the crown, which he pretended to be a lawful right, as derived from the teſtament of Edward the Confeſſor, and thereby was made a pretence of legal forfeiture in all that reſiſted him: but this blow to ſo many eſtates and families was given at once, and no more renewed; on the contrary, juſtice was adminiſtred equally to the Engliſhmen, upon the injuries of the Normans, who preſumed upon the king's favour, in prejudice of right, and of thoſe laws he had confirmed or eſtabliſhed. Whereof one memorable inſtance remains upon record, even in thoſe writers who were moſt ſevere upon the actions and memory of this prince: it was an action between Warren a Norman and Sherburn an Engliſhman: the firſt, by virtue of a grant from the king, had entered upon the lands of the other; who came into court, and pleaded, that he had never bore arms againſt the king, nor oppoſed his title or acceſſion to the crown, but had lived always peaceably upon his own lands, and ſo was liable to no forfeiture by the common law, but was farther ſecured by the king's declaration immediately after his coming to the crown: upon which plea, a juſt ſentence was given in favour of Sherburn, his lands reſtored, and Warren the Norman caſt and condemned to the coſts of the ſuit.

He appointed juſtices to preſerve the peace, and adminiſter juſtice in every county, purſuant to that which was uſed in the Saxon reigns. For the pleas of the

the crown, and thoſe of greater moment, between the ſubjects, he created judges of the moſt learned and able he could find; and ordained four terms each year, conſiſted of a certain number of days, wherein juſtice ſhould be duly adminiſtred, and all ſuits heard in ſuch places as the king ſhould appoint and find moſt convenient. Beſides theſe orders, he inſtituted the courts of Chancery and Exchequer; the firſt for tempering the rigour of laws according to the dictates of conſcience and equity, and the other for determining all actions concerning the revenues of the crown, and puniſhing exactions or irregular proceedings in the officers who levied or received them, as well as defaults or delays in thoſe from whom it was due.

For taxes or impoſitions unuſual, it does not appear that he levied any, excepting one of ſix ſhillings upon each plow-land throughout the kingdom, nor is it well agreed at what time, or upon what occaſion this was raiſed, whether by conſent of a general aſſembly, or by his own regal authority; by this, indeed, he impoſed Danegelt upon the invaſion of the Danes, which happpened once or twice in this reign, though with little progreſs or ſucceſs.

This tax was firſt raiſed by Ethelred upon the firſt enterprize of the Danes upon England, and afterwards uſed by ſeveral of his ſucceſſors upon the like danger, ſometimes to repulſe them by force and arms, ſometimes to evade them by bargains and money, wherewith they compounded for the preſent dangers, but invited others to come by ſuch mean defences.

This tax grew odious to the people, whenever it was raiſed upon any other pretence than a Daniſh invaſion; and though it was ſometimes levied, yet very ſeldom, and cautiouſly, by ſome few of the Saxon kings, and but once or twice by this Norman prince, and then, moſt probably, upon the true natural occaſions which had given it the firſt original: thus, I

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ſuppoſe, it is confounded with the tax before mentioned, and without applying it to the Daniſh invaſions, by ſome writers who ſeem to take all occaſions of defaming the actions and memory of this king, and to avoid all juſt excuſes of any that were ill reſented: and this proceeded from the ill talent of the monkiſh writers, who meaſured the virtues and vices of princes by the opinion of their favour or diſaffection to the clergy, whom they accounted or ſtiled the church; though this general appellation is known to comprehend not only ſuch perſons as were anciently choſen to adminiſter the offices of divine worſhip, but alſo all believing Chriſtians that compoſed ſuch aſſemblies, to whom thoſe offices were adminiſtred: of this the king ſeemed to be ſenſible, for though he was a prince of known and great piety, and ſo approved by the ſeveral popes during his reign; yet he appeared very little favourable, if not ſomething hard to the eccleſiaſtics of this kingdom; and perhaps ſomething bold with their privileges, ſo long enjoyed under the devout Saxon kings.

For the reſt, he contented himſelf with the uſual revenues of the crown; and by his great order and management, as well as moderation in his conſtant expence, gained much eaſe to the crown, and ſatisfaction to his people.

The chief and ancient branches of the crown-revenue conſiſted of, firſt, the lands of old reſerved as a proviſion for the king's houſhold, and ſo reckoned as crown-lands; theſe, at firſt, yielded only certain quantities of proviſions, as beef, ſheep, wheat, hay, oats, according to the nature of the lands, the tenures by which they held, and the quantity of proviſions found neceſſary for the king's houſhold; what overplus remained was compounded for, and paid in money, according to the rates uſual and agreed. The next was a duty reſerved anciently out of every knight's fees;

fee; which, at firſt, was conſtantly paid as a quit-rent, but being very ſmall came in time to be neglected by the kings, that contented themſelves with the military attendance of the knights in their wars, and with levying ſometimes a greater duty, upon great or urgent occaſions, under the name of eſcuage, which was burdenſome and odious, till the proportions and occaſions came to be aſcertained. Thoſe authors who will make the conqueror to have broken or changed the laws of England, and introduced thoſe of Normandy, pretend this duty of eſcuage, with the tenures of knights ſervice and baronage, to have come over in this reign, as well as the trial by juries: but as enough has been ſaid to clear the laſt, ſo it needs no proof that theſe, with the other feudal laws, were all brought into Europe by the ancient Goths, and by them ſettled in all the provinces which they conquered of the Roman empire; and, among the reſt, by the Saxons in England, as well as by the Francs in Gaul, and the Normans in Normandy, where the uſe of their ſtates, or general aſſemblies, were likewiſe of the ſame original.

The laſt common branch of the king's revenue conſiſted of forfeitures, both of lands and goods, in caſes of treaſon; and fines, or ſome known mulctary puniſhments upon other crimes, which were diſtinctly preſcribed in the Saxon laws, even for manſlaughter and murder itſelf; the rigour of thoſe times not extending to blood, except in thoſe caſes where the common ſafety of the kingdom was concerned by the danger of the king.

By all theſe orders and inſtitutions, and the clemency as well as juſtice wherewith they are adminiſtered, the king, how new ſoever his reign, how diſputed his title, and how diſagreeable his perſon by a foreign birth, yet ſo far gained the general affections and ſatisfaction of the commoners of the realm, who

aſk nothing but ſecurity in their eſtates and properties, that no commotions afterwards raiſed by the nobles and clergy againſt his government, though in favour of a better right and title, were ever ſupported by the commons, who compoſe the maſs or bulk of a nation: and whoſe general good or ill humour, ſatisfaction or diſcontent, will ever have the moſt forcible influence for the preſervation or ruin of any ſtate.

Beſides the good and profitable inſtitutions and orders of this king, already mentioned, ſo generally approved, and ſo grateful to the commonalty of the realm, there were others of a different nature, and which had a contrary effect, by diſtaſting and diſobliging many of the chief nobility, and moſt or all of the clergy; though ſome were ſo cautious as not to loſe their dignities or revenues by expreſſing their reſentments.

The offences taken by theſe laſt were, firſt, the abrogating or ſurceaſing the judiciary power exerciſed by the biſhops during the Saxon times in each county where juſtice was adminiſtered; and the biſhop with the aldermen or earl of each ſhire, ſat as judges in thoſe courts, which increaſed not only their authority, but their revenues too, by a ſhare they had with the king in all fines raiſed from the iſſue of cauſes there determined: but all this was aboliſhed by the king's inſtitution of juſticiaries, to adminiſter juſtice upon all pleas of the crown, and others among ſubjects, at four terms of the year.

This gave particular offence to the biſhops, but another to the whole clergy; for whereas before they held all their lands by Franc almonage, and ſubject to no duties or impoſitions, but ſuch as they laid upon themſelves in their eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies: this prince finding above a third part of the lands of the kingdom in poſſeſſion of the clergy, and the forces of the crown, which conſiſted in knight's ſervice, leſ-

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fened in proportion by their immunity, he reduced all their lands to the tenure of knights fees and baronage, and thereby ſubjected them to the attendance upon the king in his wars, and to other ſervices anciently due; and ſometimes raiſed upon all lands that held in fee from the crown. This innovation touched not only the biſhops, but all the abbots throughout the kingdom; many of whom were endowed with ſo great lands and revenues, that in right thereof they were upon the regular conſtitutions of parliaments, allowed ſeſſion with the biſhops, as barons in the houſe of lords.

The whole clergy exclaimed againſt this new inſtitution, not only as an indignity and injuſtice, but as an impiety too and violation of the ſacred rights of the holy church: but their complaints were without redreſs, though not without ill conſequence.

The diſcontents among many of the great nobles aroſe chiefly from two occaſions: the firſt was the rigour of the foreſt-laws and of their execution; and the other was the king's too apparent partiality to his Normans.

To know the ground or pretence of theſe foreſt-laws, it will be neceſſary to run up to their original. In the firſt ſeizures and diſtributions made of the Britiſh lands by the conquering Saxons, beſides thoſe reſerved to the kings or divided among the people, and held by the tenures either of knights ſervice or of book-land, as it was termed among the Saxons, and thereby diſtinguiſhed from that of villenage, there were many great tracts of barren, wild, or woody lands left undiſpoſed, and in a manner waſte; ſo great numbers of Britiſh inhabitants having been extinguiſhed by the wars, or retired into Wales, Cornwal, Britany, and Scotland; and the new Saxons, not content to ſhare among them any lands but ſuch as were fruitful and fit to be cultivated, theſe were incloſed,

or improved as well as inhabited by the new proprietors, and the others left waſte, as well as undiſpoſed to any certain owners. The whole country was, as has been obſerved, very full of all ſorts of wild game in the time of the Britains, who lived at large, without any incloſures, little property, and ſubſiſted much upon hunting, fiſhing, and fowling, which they had all in common. Upon the incloſing or cultivating of the fruitful lands by the Saxons, the wild beaſts, naturally afraid of neighbours, whom they found to be all enemies, fled into the wild, woody, and deſolate tracts of land, where they found ſhelter, and fed, though hardly, yet out of common ſight and noiſe: and hereby all thoſe parts became repleniſhed with all ſorts of game, eſpecially with red and fallow-deer, and made all thoſe ſeveral extents of ground which were afterwards called foreſts.

The Saxon kings eſteemed theſe to belong to the crown by their right to all poſſeſſions that have no certain owner, and by their never having been diſpoſed upon the firſt diviſions of land in the Saxon kingdoms, nor afterwards by any grants of the crown. This right was not diſputed, nor any uſe of it made, farther than for the king's pleaſure, which yet was not by them reſtrained from the nobles and knights that were borderers upon the foreſts, who were ſo moderate in thoſe more ſimple ages, as to commit no exceſſes, or deſtroy the game, which it was their intereſt to preſerve, both for their ſport and the quarry; and for ſome uſe made of it for common paſturage among all the bordering neighbours.

William the Conqueror not only ſeized upon all theſe foreſts, as part of his own demeſnes, but made a very large one in Hampſhire, beſides thoſe he found, by laying waſte and leaving uninhabited great extents of land, which he pretended to be fallen to the crown by ancient ſucceſſion, or by new forfeitures; and this he

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called The new foreſt, which name, after ſo long a courſe of ages, it ſtill retains.

In all theſe foreſts he pretended an abſolute right and dominion; and in purſuance thereof inſtituted new and arbitrary laws of his own, unuſed and unknown before in this kingdom, and very different from the moderation of the Saxon government. He confined all hunting or fowling in theſe foreſts to himſelf, or ſuch as ſhould have right to it by his conceſſions or permiſſions. He impoſed fines upon all treſpaſſes committed in them, according to his own pleaſure, and which ſeemed much to exceed the fault or value of the thing. Theſe he cauſed to be levied with great rigour and exaction, and thereby debarred not only his commoners, but his nobles too, from a liberty they had before always enjoyed. Though he took care not to provoke the commoners, by levying paſturage free for ſuch of the neighbours who lived moſt upon their ſtock, and thereby took no great offence at the reſtraint from their ſport, which they had not time from their labour much to follow; yet the nobles and knights, who valued their ſports more than common gains, and made uſe of their riches but for increaſe of their pleaſures, reſented this reſtraint as a ſenſible injury, as an invaſion of their liberties, and even as an affectation of an arbitrary power in this particular; and from the exerciſe whereof he was only reſtrained by the regards of his ſafety and intereſt in others of more moment and conſequence: the great nobles reſented it yet farther as an indignity, by levelling their privileges with the liberties of the commoners, from whom they eſteemed themſelves diſtinguiſhed by the uſual regards and reſpects paid them from the princes, in their degree, as well as from the people. Nor does it appear, whether this violent inſtitution of the foreſt-laws proceeded from his paſſionate love of hunting (the only pleaſure to which this

prince was addicted) or from his avarice, by ſo many fines to increaſe his treaſure, or from a deſire of being abſolute and arbitrary in one part of his government, which he found he could not be with any ſafety in the reſt.

For his partiality to the Normans, though it was diſguiſed, or at leaſt not evident in the common forms of his juſtice, which run a free and even courſe, yet it was eaſily diſcovered in that of his graces and favour; the civil offices, eccleſiaſtical benefices, places of moſt truſt about his perſon, and in his realm, were conferred generally upon his Normans; and beſides theſe advantages, and thoſe of the forfeitures that fell upon his entrance, they appeared to have his countenance, his converſation, his confidence; ſo that whatſoever the Engliſh poſſeſſed of the kingdom, the Normans alone ſeemed to poſſeſs the king.

This might have been more excuſable if the Engliſh had conſidered the king as much as themſelves, and many of his circumſtances, as well as their own: they were ſtrangers to him, or but new acquaintance; they differed in language, in manners, in cuſtoms; they had very lately differed in intereſt, and from enemies in war, were, indeed, now become ſubjects, but rather as to a conqueror than a lawful prince: the Normans ſpoke his native tongue, were trained up in the ſame cuſtoms, acquainted with his perſon from his youth, had attended him in his court, followed him in his wars at home and abroad; and thought it but juſt they ſhould ſhare in his fortunes, as they had in his dangers.

However, many of the great aſpiring ſpirits among the Engliſh nobles could not bear this partiality of the king's: they thought the Normans ought to be provided of rewards or honours in Normandy, but thoſe of England ſhould be conferred upon Engliſh: beſides, they reſented the common teſtimonies of his inclination

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to the Normans, as much as they could have done injuries to themſelves; like generous lovers, who are more jealous and ſpited to ſee their rivals gain the inclination of their miſtreſs than the poſſeſſion, and had rather they ſhould have her body than her heart.

Upon all theſe cauſes, the diſcontents of many chief Engliſh nobles and prelates were grown to ſuch a height, ſwelling more within, the more they were ſuppreſſed, that they wanted only a fair occaſion to draw them to a head, and make them break out with violence and much pain and danger to the ſtate.

This was furniſhed them, either by fortune or deſign, in the third, fourth, or fifth year of the conqueror's reign; for the authors are neither diſtinct nor agreed in aſſigning the cauſes, or the times of this king's actions in war, or inſtitutions in peace, by which their true nature and that of the prince would have been beſt diſcovered; whereas they content themſelves to diſplay their eloquence or vent their paſſions by relating general or particular events, what was done, and what was ſuffered in his reign; by which ſome of the Norman writers endeavour to repreſent him as a god, and ſome of the Engliſh like a devil, and both unjuſtly.

Edgar Atheling was nephew to Edward the Confeſſor, and the undiſputed as well as undoubted heir of the kingdom from the Saxon race: it was generally thought that he had likewiſe been deſigned by king Edward, a juſt and pious prince, to ſucceed him in the throne; and that his pretended declaration by Harold, or teſtament by the duke of Normandy, were fictitious, or at leaſt neither of them evident from any clear and undoubted writings or teſtimonies. Edgar was beſides, from the bounty of his nature, the excellence of his temper, the prerogative of his birth, and the compaſſion of his unjuſt fortunes, much and generally beloved and eſteemed among all the Engliſh, both nobles

and commons; yet he neither oppoſed Harold's uſurpation, nor the Normans conqueſt; whether for want of ſpirit to attempt ſo great an adventure, or upon prudence, not to oppoſe ſuch powers as he found unreſiſtible, and in which ſo many circumſtances had conſpired, chuſing rather to content himſelf with the ſhades of a private condition, out of danger and envy, or at leaſt to attend ſome future occaſions that might open a more probable way to his hopes and his fortunes.

He was at London, among many other nobles, when the famous and deciſive battle was fought at Haſtings, and the news brought of the duke's victory and of Harold's death: thoſe of the nobles who were for oppoſing the conqueror, were for declaring Edgar Atheling king; the citizens of London were at firſt diſpoſed to the ſame reſolution; but the biſhops and clergy, who had the greateſt ſway among both thoſe orders, prevailed in this general council for a general ſubmiſſion to the fate of the kingdom.

In purſuance of this reſolution, Edgar Atheling, with Stigand and Alred, archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, Edwin and Morchar, two of the greateſt Engliſh lords, the reſt of the nobles and biſhops who had attended the victorious duke upon his way to London, was well received by him, and treated with bounty as well as humanity; ſo that the young prince attended frequently at court, accompanied the king into Normandy, returned with him into England, and lived there for ſome time like one who had forgot his birth and his title, though they were by the Engliſh well remembered: but at length, either weary of reſt, or rouzed by other ſpirits more unquiet than his own, he reſolved, or at leaſt pretended, to make a journey into Hungary, where he was born during his father's exile, had lived long, and was much beloved: he embarked

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for Flanders with his two ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtine; but, forced by a ſtorm and contrary winds, or allured by fairer hopes, he was driven upon the coaſts of Scotland; the firſt was given out, but the laſt ſuſpected, from the event of this voyage. He was received by Malcolm the king with great kindneſs and compaſſion of his diſaſters both at ſea and land; was reſorted to by all the nobles and gentlemen who had ſheltered themſelves in that kingdom upon hate or fear of the conqueſt in England; and was by them acknowledged and honoured as the true and lawful heir of that crown. Soon after his arrival, the king of Scotland, inflamed either with the beauty of the young lady, or with the hopes of her brother's fortunes, or upon former concert with the Engliſh nobles reſiding in Scotland, and intelligence with others diſcontented in England, married the lady Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter of Edgar; and thereby became newly engaged in the intereſts and family of this noble but unfortunate prince.

The fame of this adventure was no ſooner divulged in England, than it raiſed a great, though different motion in the minds of all men there, who were either well or ill affected to the new king, filling one party with new hopes, and the other with new fears, and reaſonably enough in both, from all common appearances. Many perſons of great note and authority in England repaired immediately upon it into Scotland, ſome by eaſy paſſages out of the northern counties, and others out of the remoter parts of the realm by more difficult eſcapes, either by ſea or land. Among theſe were the earls Edwin, Morchar, Hereward, Syward, Goſpatrick, men of great eſtates and power, as was believed, in England, with many other nobles and gentlemen. But that which ſeemed yet of greater influence and authority, was the repair of Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Alred of York, with divers

other biſhops and prelates, who having been the chief inſtruments in making way for the eaſy acceſſion of duke William to the crown, and for the general ſubmiſſion of the Engliſh to his reign, were preſumed now likely to prove of as great moment and importance for the reſtoration and ſupport of a juſt Engliſh title in Edgar, as they had been for the admiſſion and eſtabliſhment of one diſputed and foreign, of the Norman dukes: beſides, the clergy being accounted the wiſe and learned men of that age, were eſteemed moſt likely to judge beſt of the rights, and beſt to foreſee the events in diſputes of the crown, and unlikely to embark themſelves in a bottom unſound, upon either the regards of juſtice or ſucceſs.

Edgar, exalted with ſuch a concourſe of nobles out of England, and the hopes they gave him of a greater from the people there, when he ſhould appear among them, reſolved to lay claim to that crown, and with ſtronger arguments than thoſe of a bare title or right of ſucceſſion, how juſt ſoever: for the Scots king had now aſſiſted him with a great army, being induced to engage openly in his quarrel, not only by the charms of his wife, or compaſſion of her brother's hard fortune, but by reaſons of ſtate as well as of juſtice and affection: he feared the dangerous neighbourhood of ſo powerful, aſpiring, and fortunate a prince, and apprehended his ambition would not ceaſe with the conqueſt of England, but extend it to that of Scotland too, and reducing the whole iſland of Britain under one dominion, for which it ſeemed by nature to have been framed; he thought it both wiſe and neceſſary, to give ſome ſtop to this growing power, before it became too well ſettled at home, and thereby prepared for new enterprizes abroad; and that it was better carrying a war into England, than expecting it in Scotland. He was glad of ſo fair an occaſion to juſtify his quarrel, and by advancing the fortunes of Edgar, to ſecure

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his own: he had taken meaſures with Swane king of Denmark to enter the Humber with a powerful navy, whilſt he with his army entered the northern provinces by land; and with the ſons of Harold at the ſame time to invade the Weſt, by the aſſiſtance of forces to be furniſhed by Drone king of Ireland, to whom they had fled upon the Norman victory. He preſumed upon great inſurrections among the Engliſh in favour of Edgar, and by the authority of the nobles his aſſociates, who had repreſented the common diſcontents in England to be as great as their own.

Theſe hopes were not ill-grounded, nor the deſigns ill laid; for the Daniſh fleet was ready to ſail, and the ſons of Harold, with their Iriſh forces, landed and raiſed a commotion in the Weſt, at the ſame time that Edgar, with thoſe out of Scotland, invaded the North, where he found at firſt no oppoſition; but inſtead of enemies, met with many friends prepared to receive him, and increaſe his ſtrength: he made himſelf maſter of Northumberland, Cumberland, and the biſhopric of Durham, by the defeat of Robert Count of Mortain, who was there ſlain, with ſeven hundred Normans. From thence he marched without reſiſtance as far as York, which was defended by a ſtrong garriſon of Norman ſoldiers: he beſieged this city, the capital and defence of all the northern counties, and aſſaulted it with that fury, that he carried the town by ſtorm, where all the Normans were put to the ſword by the rage and revenge of the Engliſh nobles in his army; many in the heat of the aſſault, and the reſt, after they were entered, and found no more reſiſtance. After this ſucceſs, Edgar remained ſome time at York, to refreſh his army after ſo long a march and ſo warm an action, which had coſt him the lives of many brave men, and the wounds of many more. Beſides, he expected here to ſee his army ſoon encreaſed by the repair of many friends and diſcontents out of the ſouthern provinces of England,

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and by the arrival of the Daniſh fleet in the Humber, according to the concert before agreed, and for which he knew all had been prepared.

King William, thus ſurrounded with dangers from the Weſt and North, and with jealouſies of his new ſubjects, of whoſe affection he had yet made no trial, farther than ſome few years ſubmiſſion to his government, was yet undaunted at the news of all theſe attempts, nor any-ways diſtracted by either ſuch various dangers or fears. He applied himſelf to thoſe which were neareſt, by ſending the forces he had ready immediately into the Weſt, under experienced commanders; and prepared a greater army both of Engliſh and Normans, to march himſelf into the North, after the commotions in the Weſt ſhould be appeaſed: this happened to be eaſier and ſooner than he expected, for the attempt of Harold's ſons with their Iriſh forces proved weak and faint, though ſucceſsful in their firſt encounter; wherein Ednoth, a brave commander on the king's ſide, was ſlain, with ſeveral of his followers; but the ſons of Harold being defeated in a ſecond engagement, and failing of any conſiderable recourſe or inſurrection of the Engliſh there (upon which they had grounded their chief hopes) were much diſappointed, and thereby diſcouraged eaſily broken by the brave Norman troops, and forced to return with the remainder of their Iriſh forces into Ireland.

King William, upon the happy end of this adventure, after the beſt orders taken for the ſecurity of the ſouthern parts in his abſence, marched at the head of a brave army into the North, engaged the forces of Edgar in a ſet battle; and by the valour of his troops, the diſcipline and order of his army, and his own excellent conduct, defeated entirely the united ſtrength of his enemies; beſieged and took again the city of York, defended by Waltheof, ſon to the earl Syward, a young gentleman of great valour, and much admired

mired in this action, being ſaid to have ſtood firm at a breach made in the wall, and with his ſword to have cut off the heads of many Normans as they preſſed to enter, and could do it but one by one, by the narrowneſs of the breach ſo bravely defended.

After this defeat, and the ſurrender of York, Edgar retired into Scotland with thoſe of his dependants who were moſt deſperate and impatient of the Norman conqueſt. The reſt of the Engliſh nobles who had eſcaped the battle ſubmitted themſelves to the king, and came in upon public faith, took a new oath of allegiance, and were thereupon all pardoned, and many reſtored, not only to their eſtates, but to favour with the king; who had found Erick the foreſter, that had firſt rebelled againſt him after his coronation, expreſs great fidelity after his pardon obtained, and perform good ſervice in this northern expedition. He made Goſpatrick earl of Northumberland, and employed him againſt the dangers and incurſions he apprehended from the Scots. He was ſo charmed with the valour and conſtancy that Waltheof had ſhewed in the defence of York (though ſo much to his coſt, and the loſs of ſo many Normans by his ſword) that he reſolved to gain him at what rate ſoever he valued himſelf, ſhewing the nobleneſs of his own courage and virtue by loving and honouring them in his enemies. He married this young gentleman to Judith his niece, gave him great poſſeſſions, beſides thoſe to which he was heir, and uſed him with much confidence; which was for ſome time returned with ſervice and with faith.

Moſt of the other nobles that came in upon pardon of their lives, he deſpoiled their eſtates and offices, and beſtowed them upon his Norman friends and followers: ſome he kept priſoners whom he thought moſt dangerous; as the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, and Edwin, a man of the greateſt power and dependences, whoſe earldom and great poſſeſſions in

Yorkſhire

Yorkſhire were given to Alain earl of Britain; as were thoſe of ſeveral others at the ſame time to others of his kindred or friends. In the room of Stigand he made Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury, an Italian born, but an abbot in Normandy, a perſon of great wiſdom and temper, as well as learning: Thomas, his chaplain he made archbiſhop of York, and obtained the approbation of the pope for their ſucceſſion in thoſe ſees (during the lives of the other two) upon repreſentation of other crimes, or, at leaſt, vices beſides their rebellion againſt a king whoſe title had been confirmed by the pope, as well as encouraged.

It is not agreed at what time the Daniſh fleet arrived upon the coaſts, but it is certain they entered Humber with about two hundred ſail: ſome write that they returned again without making any attempt upon the ſhore; that their commanders were enriched with great preſents from the king, and their ſoldiers ſupplied with proviſions, and all treated rather like friends than enemies: whether their arrival out of time made them deſpair of any ſucceſs, and whether that were occaſioned by croſs winds at ſea, or croſs purpoſes in the Daniſh court, is not well known: for William the Conqueror, after he was ſeated in the throne, feared no inſult from abroad but by Daniſh powers, and pretenſions they had ſtill upon England, and the preparations (as was divulged abroad) of Swane their king, for invading it with a navy of a thouſand ſhips. Hereupon he endeavoured to ward this blow by ſlight rather than force, thinking his ſafety on that ſide better purchaſed with treaſure than with blood. He practiſed private intelligences in the Daniſh court, and by force of preſents and penſions gained to his devotion ſome perſons of credit, and among the reſt Edelbert archbiſhop of Hamburgh, a man of great authority in thoſe parts, and whoſe advices were much uſed

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and eſteemed by the Daniſh king. It was believed the artifices and practices of theſe men eluded the firſt great deſign of a mighty invaſion, changed it into an aſſiſtance of the diſcontented here with ſmaller forces, delayed them till the time was paſſed, and diſpoſed their commanders to return without action, and their maſter to receive their excuſes with approbation, or at leaſt with impunity.

Yet there are other writers, who ſay the Danes landed in England, made great ſpoils, joined prince Edgar's forces, wintered in this kingdom, and returned in the ſpring, by the king's private practices and rewards among the commanders, as well as bounty to the ſoldiers.

The king, after having eſtabliſhed his affairs in the North, returned triumphant to London, where the firſt action he performed was to take a new perſonal oath before Lanfranc the new archbiſhop, and all the lords then preſent in that city, to obſerve the ancient laws of the realm, eſtabliſhed by the kings of England his predeceſſors, and particularly thoſe of Edward the Confeſſor.

This action of the king's was the more applauded and the better accepted by the Engliſh, becauſe it was unconſtrained by any neceſſity of his affairs, or appearance of any new dangers againſt which he might have reaſon to provide. And it is certain his oath taken at his coronation of preſerving the ancient laws of the realm had been the chief occaſion of his ſafety in the late and dangerous convulſion of the ſtate, together with the ill choſen time of the Scots invaſion, and the revolt of the lords in favour of Edgar: for if ſuch attempts had been made ſoon after the conqueſt, while the minds of the people were generally in motion, and in fear of what might ſucceed to the danger of their properties and their ancient liberties upon that new revolution, his throne had not been only ſha-

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ken, but in evident danger of being overthrown by ſuch a violent concuſſion. But the people having lived quietly ſome years under the protection of their ancient laws, and in an equal courſe of known and common juſtice, grew indifferent to the change which had been made in the rights or ſucceſſion of the crown, or to any new one that might ſucceed. Beſides, though they were well affected to Edgar, yet they diſliked the company with which he came attended, and hated the entrance of a Scots army into England more than they loved Edgar. They thought if he ſucceeded, the dominion would fall under the Scots, whilſt he only retained the name; and if they muſt be governed by ſtrangers, the beſt was to have thoſe they were already uſed to, and ſo feared leaſt. The common ſubjects of a kingdom are not ſo apt to trouble themſelves about the rights and poſſeſſion of a crown, as about their own; and ſeldom engage in the quarrels of the firſt, but upon ſome general and ſtrong apprehenſions that the laſt are in danger. So the diſcontents and inſurrections of the nobles in England, though encouraged and ſupported by foreign forces, yet failed of ſucceſs againſt this new king and his government, becauſe they were not followed by any general commotion or ſublevation of the people, which left all ſafe and quiet in the ſouthern parts and main body of the kingdom, whilſt he marched with his army againſt his enemies in the North. Nor is the ſafety of a prince ſo firm and well eſtabliſhed upon any other bottom, as the general ſafety, and thereby ſatisfaction of the common people, which make the bulk and ſtrength of all great kingdoms whenever they conſpire and unite in any common paſſion or intereſt. For the nobles without them are but like an army of officers without ſoldiers, and make only a vain ſhew or weak noiſe, unleſs raiſed and increaſed by the voice of the people; which

which for this reaſon is in a common Latin proverb called, The voice of God.

No prince ever made greater or happier experience of this truth than William the Conqueror, both in the events of the laſt and formidable dangers, which he ſo eaſily ſurmounted, and in the whole courſe of his ſubſequent reign, which was infeſted by many new troubles, either in England or in Normandy, that would have proved fatal to him, if he had been diſtracted by the common diſcontents or inſurrections of his Engliſh ſubjects; for his preſent calm was not of long continuance; the clouds ſoon gathered again, and threatened another ſtorm, and from the ſame winds by which the laſt had been raiſed.

Malcolm, king of Scotland, ſtill perſiſted in the envy and fear of his neighbouring power and greatneſs, ſtill eſteemed it his own intereſt to join with thoſe of Edgar, and his dependents in England, and thereby weaken the force or diſturb the quiet of the Norman government in England, before it ſhould by the favour of time and calm ſeaſons take too deep root to be afterwards ſhaken. He raiſed a greater army than before, with which he threatened again to invade England, and led them himſelf, though ſtill in favour only of Edgar's title and advancement to the crown. He entered into new practices with ſeveral of the Engliſh nobles who had followed him, though unfortunately, in the laſt expedition, and were reſolved to repair their former loſſes by venturing greater, rather than give over the game. Nor could the hopes of the diſcontented Engliſh ever die, while the root was alive, and they were fomented by the malice, and encouraged by the forces of ſo powerful a neighbour, joined with ſo juſt pretenſions as thoſe of Edgar were generally eſteemed.

When the preparations in Scotland and intelligences in England were ripe for execution, the earl Edwin

made his eſcape, and fled towards the north, but was by the way murdered by ſome of his own retinue. The earls Morchar and Hereward, who were already upon the wing for the ſame flight, diſcouraged by this miſadventure, durſt not purſue it; but yet already ingaged too far to make a retreat, they made way to poſſeſs themſelves of the iſle of Ely, fortified there the beſt they could, and hoped the Scots invaſion would divert the king's forces from attempting them before winter, and that the ſeaſon and ſituation together would there cover them for ſome time.

On the contrary, the Scots king was diſcouraged from beginning his march by the news of theſe diſaſters among his confederates in England, and choſe rather to ſend the biſhop of Durham and earl Syward out of Scotland, to relieve and animate thoſe lords, retired to the iſle of Ely, than to enter England, without hopes of their making ſome diverſion. But the king, who never feared or ſlighted any dangers, and knew they were like diſeaſes, to be taken in time, marched immediately with his forces to the iſle of Ely, beſet it upon one ſide with a great number of flat-bottom boats, and on another made a bridge of two miles long, with incredible diligence and labour and with ſuch ſpeed, as both ſurprized and terrified his enemies within. So as deſpairing of farther reſiſtance, they all ſubmitted to the king's mercy except Hereward, who, with ſome few followers, eſcaped through the fens, and, through many dangers, arrived ſafe in Scotland. The reſt of the lords were ſent priſoners to ſeveral parts of the kingdom, where ſome remained during the king's life, and others died before him, with whom they could not be content to live.

The king, after this ſmall adventure ſo happily atchieved, and the preſent peace of his kingdom reſtored, yet conſidering the root of all his dangers was in Scotland, and unwilling to take up preſent quiet

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and ſafety at too great an intereſt of dangers to come, reſolved to march into Scotland with a powerful army, and endeavour to ſecure himſelf on that ſide, either by a peace or victory. He firſt ſent Roger a Norman, then Goſpatrick earl of Northumberland, with part of his forces into the North, to oppoſe the Scots army that was already entered thoſe provinces, with great ſpoils and ravages of the country, and to keep them at a bay, till the king came up with the reſt of his army. In the mean time, he aſſembled his forces at York, with the beſt choice of men and officers, and ſuch numbers as he judged neceſſary for ſuch an expedition, compoſed of Engliſh and Normans, whoſe emulation he encouraged with promiſes of reward and hopes of eſtabliſhing their common ſafety by the ſucceſs of this enterprize. From York to Durham he met with many hardſhips and difficulties, from the wants of his army, in a country which had been ſo lately waſted by the Scots forces and his own, and with which he was then contented to prevent another invaſion. But having ſurmounted all by his own care and the patience of his men, from the example of their leaders, he marched near the borders without any oppoſition, though common fame had made him expect the Scots would give him battle in England, and not the trouble of ſo long a march.

But Malcolm their king, now deſtitute of hopes or aſſiſtances from any foreign confederates, or any inſurrections in England, after the laſt diſaſters of the diſcontented lords, began to cool the heats of his blood; and, inſtead of farther invading England, changed his counſels, and reſolved only upon a defenſive war. At the news of king William's entrance into the northern provinces, he quitted Northumberland, and with good order retreated back to the borders, and there encamped his army to the beſt advantage, without making any farther incurſions into the Engliſh territories,

either to ſecure his proviſions, or not to provoke his enemies, and render all terms of reconcilement deſperate, or not to endanger his retreat, in caſe of any diſaſter.

The king of England, approaching the borders, and thereby the Scots army, thought fit likewiſe to encamp his own, both to refreſh his ſoldiers, haraſſed by ſo long and difficult a march, as alſo to diſcover the forces of the enemy, obſerve their countenance, their order, and their motions, and thereby judge of their deſigns, and direct his own to the beſt advantage: ſo that for ſome days the two armies ſtood at a bay, ſeeming both prepared for a fierce encounter, and yet both content to delay it, from a mutual reſpect they had for one another's forces and diſpoſitions. They were, indeed, not much unequal in numbers, nor in the bravery and order of their troops; both kings were valiant and wiſe, having been trained up in arms, inured to dangers, and much embroiled at home in the beginning of their reigns. They were now animated to a battle by their own courage as well as their ſoldiers, but yet both conſidered the event in the uncertainty and the conſequence; the loſs of a battle might prove the loſs of a crown, and the fortune of one day determine the fate of a kingdom; and they knew very well, that whoever fights a battle, with what number and forces, what proviſions and orders, or appearances ſoever of ſucceſs, yet, at the beſt, runs a venture, and leaves much at the mercy of fortune, from accidents not to be foreſeen by any prudence, or governed by any conduct or ſkill. Theſe reflexions began to diſpoſe both kings to the thoughts of ending their quarrel by a peace rather than a battle; and though both had the ſame inclination, yet each of them was unwilling firſt to diſcover it, leſt it might be interpreted to proceed from apprehenſions of weakneſs or fears, and thereby diſhearten their own ſoldiers, or

encourage

encourage their enemies. The Scots, at length, began the overture, which was received by king William with a ſhew of indifference, but with a concealed joy; and the more reaſonable, as having the greater ſtake, the leſs to win, and the more to loſe by the iſſue of a battle. The firſt parley was followed by a treaty, and this, after ſome debate, by a peace, concluded as between equal forces, ſo upon equal conditions; each king to content himſelf with the ancient bounds of their ſeveral kingdoms, whereof the borders were agreed: neither to invade one another's dominions, nor to aſſiſt the enemies, or receive and protect the rebels of each other; priſoners in the laſt or this war to be on both ſides releaſed; and ſubjects, who deſired to return, to be on both ſides reſtored to their country and poſſeſſions.

Edgar, the principal or moſt appearing cauſe of the war, was included and provided for in this treaty, to return into England, make his ſubmiſſion to the king, renounce any farther claim to the crown, and thereupon, not only to be reſtored to his own poſſeſſions, with his friends and followers, but to be provided of a large and honourable maintenance from the king during his life. And thus this ſtorm, which threatened both kingdoms with ſuch fatal dangers and long conſequences, was of a ſudden blown over; a general calm reſtored in the whole iſland of Britain; and the two kings returned to enjoy the fruits of a peace, to which they had both contributed by their equal temper and prudence, as well as by their equal preparations for a war.

Soon after the king's return, Edgar repaired into England, where he was very favourably received, and all conditions of the treaty performed, and ever after obſerved with great faith and ſincereneſs on both parts. He had his proviſions and revenues (agreed by the treaty) fairly eſtabliſhed; but being deſirous to go

to the wars of the Holy Land, which was the common humour of idle or devout princes in that age, he was furnished by the king with great sums of money, to prepare and maintain a noble equipage for that journey. He there gained much honour and esteem; after which, returning into England, he passed the rest of his whole life in the ease and security of a large, but private fortune; and, perhaps, happier than he might have done in the contests and dangers of ambition, however they might have succeeded. A rare example of moderation in prince Edgar, and of magnanimity, as well as justice and clemency in this king; and very different from several of his successors, who defamed their reigns by the death of innocent princes, for having only been born to just rights of the crown, without any appearing means or attempts to pursue them, or endanger the possessors; thereby staining their memories with the blots both of cruelty and fear. For clemency is produced by magnanimity and fearlessness of dangers, so is cruelty by cowardice and fear, and argues not only a depravedness of nature, but also a meanness of courage and imbecility of mind; for which reason, it is both hated by all that are within its reach and danger, and despised by all that are without.

The king, upon his return, began again to apply himself to the arts of peace, which consist chiefly in the preventing of future, as those of war in the surmounting of present dangers. And as nothing raises the power of a crown so much as weak and private conspiracies against it, rashly undertaken by some few discontents, unsupported by any general defections of the people faintly pursued, and ending without success; so this prince found his throne and authority more firmly established, in all appearance, by the happy issue of the two late wars, and the unfortunate events of his revolted nobles; and now esteemed himself

more

more at liberty from thoſe regards of his Engliſh ſubjects and their laws, which his unſettled ſtate had made neceſſary upon his firſt acceſſion to the crown. He was provoked by the rebellions of ſo many of the greateſt Engliſh nobles, after their fealty ſworn to him: he was perſuaded of the general diſaffection of the reſt, and that the late inſurrections would have been found much deeper rooted, and farther ſpread, if they had been attended with any ſucceſs. He thought the Engliſh lords and biſhops had too great dependence of their tenants and vaſſals upon them, and had themſelves too little upon the prince; ſince they eſteemed themſelves neither bound to attend him in the wars unleſs they pleaſed, nor to furniſh the expences, unleſs by their own conſent in their general aſſemblies: nor was he ſatisfied to have them judge of his neceſſities, whom he thought unlikelieſt to increaſe them, or at leaſt to deſire them. He believed the Engliſh in general would, as long as they retained the Saxon laws and forms of government, ever be affected to the race of their Saxon kings: and for this reaſon, he was thought to have encouraged the voyage of Edgar for the Holy Land by ſo large ſupplies of treaſure, under pretence of that prince's honour, but from true intentions of his own ſafety. Beſides, he found his treaſures exhauſted by the great charges of his two laſt expeditions, and the juſt rewards he had promiſed both his Normans, and thoſe of the Engliſh who had well and faithfully ſerved in them. Though he had once or twice (for it is left in doubt) levied the tax of Danegelt upon thet hreats of a Daniſh invaſion and, by an ancient prerogative of the Saxon kings, pretended or exerciſed upon that occaſion; yet he found it was not raiſed without great murmur and reluctancy of the people, as well as the nobles, who pretended to ancient liberties of paying no taxes impoſed without

the conſent of their general aſſemblies, which began in this king's, or his ſon's time, firſt to be ſtiled Parliaments according to the Norman phraſe; whereas they had by the Saxons been called Gemoots, and, by their Latin writers, common councils or general aſſemblies of the kingdom, though how compoſed is left uncertain, and has raiſed much argument and diſpute.

All theſe conſiderations either moved or augmented at this time a deſign or inclination of this king to change the whole frame of the Engliſh government, to aboliſh their ancient laws and cuſtoms, and introduce thoſe of Normandy, by which he thought he ſhould be more abſolute, and too powerful to be again diſturbed by any inſurrection at home, or any invaſions from his enemies abroad.

So ſoon as he had digeſted, and began to diſcover this reſolution, it is not to be imagined what a univerſal diſcontent, and, indeed, conſternation, it raiſed among all his Engliſh ſubjects, who under ſo great a king, attended by his victorious Norman forces, reckoned upon no other ſafety, but from the preſervation of their ancient laws, whereof he had hitherto aſſured them. Whereupon the whole people, ſad and aggrieved, as well as the nobles, in an humble manner, but with univerſal agreement, tendered an earneſt petition to the king, beſeeching him, in regard of his oath made at the coronation, and by the ſoul of St. Edward, from whom he had the crown and kingdom, under whoſe laws they were born and bred, that he would not change them, and deliver them up to new and ſtrange laws, which they underſtood not.

Upon this humble, but earneſt application of the whole Engliſh nation, united in their deſires upon this occaſion, the king, before he reſolved, thought, at leaſt, it was of weight to deſerve the beſt deliberation, and thereupon fell into ſerious conſultations upon

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it with his council, whom he found much divided in their debates. The Normans, among them, were for his executing with vigour what he had determined, for aboliſhing wholly the Engliſh laws, introducing the Norman, and maintaining his crown and government by the ſame means he had gained them, which was by force and arms. They were encouraged in this opinion by preſuming it agreed with the king's inclination, and were confirmed by the preſſing arguments and advices of his brother Odon, biſhop of Bayeux, a man of a violent nature, arbitrary humour and will; who, in the time of the king's abſence, and his being left vicegerent, had exerciſed many oppreſſions and cruel exactions upon the people, and had raiſed more clamour and hatred againſt the king's government, than any councils or actions of his own.

This ambitious prelate aſpiring at the papacy upon the next election, and deſpairing to obtain it by any other means than the force of money, neglected or refrained no ways of heaping up treaſure, though none ſo ſure of increaſing his own, as by advancing the king's by an abſolute power over the perſons and purſes of his ſubjects.

The Engliſh of the king's council were of a different opinion, but being parties in the caſe, had been little conſidered, without the ſupport of Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who being born an Italian, was impartial to Engliſh and Normans, eſteemed much by both, and more by the king. He was a man of ſound natural ſenſe and univerſal goodneſs, of general knowledge, known virtue, long experience, and approved wiſdom; free and diſintereſted, and in all counſels conſidering the king more than himſelf, and his true ſervice and welfare of the crown more than his humour or his inclination. The king ever adviſed with him in all the weighty affairs of his reign, allowed his liberty,

and

and encouraged it, knowing him to be not only wiſe and good, but faithful to his intereſt and affectionate to his perſon: happy in the choice or fortune of ſuch a counſellor, and more in the diſpoſition of hearing and weighing ſuch advices as were never ſo different from his own opinions or inclinations. Nor is any thing more dangerous for a prince, than to conſult only with perſons that he thinks are of his own mind, or will be ſo when they know it; nor more pernicious in a counſellor, than to give only ſuch advices as he thinks moſt agreeable to him that aſks or receives them.

Lanfranc, upon this great and weighty occaſion, repreſented to the king how much his ſafety depended upon the general ſatisfaction of his ſubjects: that of theſe, the Engliſh were much the greater part, both in ſtrength and numbers; that no people could be eaſy under any laws, but ſuch wherein they were born and bred: that all innovations were odious; but none could be more ſo than this, as appeared by ſo univerſal agreement of the Engliſh in their petition: that the humility and calmneſs of it was more dangerous, than if any thing had been done in hot blood, and the refuſal would be the more reſented: that the laws and conſtitutions of this realm had been digeſted by the wiſeſt councils, and confirmed by a long ſucceſſion of their kings: that under them the Saxons had been good and loyal ſubjects, and their kings, who ruled by theſe laws, never troubled with any ſeditions or inſurrections of their people: that, beſides reaſon and experience, religion was concerned in this reſolution, ſince the king had already twice ſworn ſolemnly to obſerve them; ſo as a change of them now would be taxed not only of injuſtice, but impiety: that nothing was of ſo much moment to a prince as reputation, and none more than that of being a religious obſerver of his word and promiſe; but eſpecially of his oaths,

without

without which he could never be truſted by his ſubjects or his neighbours.

The king heard and weighed all their reaſons, and by them formed his own judgment, which he ever truſted in the laſt reſort. Upon mature deliberation, as the caſe required, he at length reſolved not only to continue the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, but to give the people new and more evident aſſurances of this reſolution: in purſuance whereof, he granted and confirmed them by a public and open charter, and thereby purchaſed the hearts as well as ſatisfaction of his Engliſh ſubjects, whereof he reaped the fruits in his ſucceeding troubles in Normandy and his wars with France.

Yet he could not refrain ſhewing the kindneſs he retained for his own country and language, introducing, by connivance, or by countenance, ſeveral Norman cuſtoms, and endeavouring to introduce that language to be general in the kingdom. To this end he cauſed many ſchools to be ſet up for teaching that tongue, which was a baſtard French, not well underſtood by the French themſelves, and not at all by the Engliſh. He cauſed the laws of the kingdom, which had been anciently written in Saxon, and by Edward the Confeſſor publiſhed alſo in Latin, to be now tranſlated into Norman. He ordered all pleas in the ſeveral courts to be made in the ſame language, and all petitions preſented the king, and all buſineſs of court, to be likewiſe in Norman. This introduced new terms, new forms of pleading and of proceſs, new names of offices and of courts; and with them all the litigious cuſtoms and ſubtilties of the Norman pleas and conveyances (who were a witty but contentious people) inſtead of the old Engliſh ſimplicity in their common ſuits, pleas, or conveyances, which were plain, brief, without perplexities, made with good meaning, kept with good faith,

faith, and ſo followed by little contention, and that determined by ſpeedy juſtice and deciſion of monthly courts in every county.

Among the Saxons it was uſual to grant lands and houſes by bare words, and with the delivery of ſome trivial gift, as an horn, a ſword, an arrow, a helmet, and yet the ſimple honeſty of thoſe times and people left ſuch grants little ſubject to any diſputes or contentions. But the Conqueror reduced all grants to writing, to ſignature, and to witneſſes, which brought in cavils and actions grounded upon punctilious errors in writing, miſtakes in expreſſion, which in much writing muſt ſometimes happen, either by haſte, weakneſs, or perhaps by fraud of conveyancers, and with deſign to leave matter of contentions, by which they ſubſiſt, as phyſicians by diſeaſes.

Notwithſtanding all theſe arts of the prince, and induſtry of his miniſters, to introduce the Norman language in England, yet all was fruſtrated by the overbalance of numbers in the nation, in proportion to the ſtrangers, and aſſiſted by a general averſion in the Engliſh to change their language, which they thought would be ſucceeded by that of their laws and liberties; ſo that in this very reign, inſtead of the Engliſh ſpeaking Norman, the Normans began generally, by force of intermarriages, ordinary commerce and converſation, to uſe the Engliſh tongue, which has ever ſince continued and compoſed the main body of our language, though changed, like others, by mixture of many new words and phraſes, not only introduced by this great revolution, but by the uſes and accidents of each ſucceeding age.

It ſeems very remarkable and very different, what happened in Scotland about this time and upon this ſubject; for upon the great recourſe of Engliſh nobles and gentlemen into Scotland, ſeeking refuge from the firſt dangers and terrors of the Norman conqueſt; and

afterwards

afterwards of many more who fled there in purſuit of Edgar's pretenſions, and joined with the Scots in two invaſions of England; but chiefly upon Malcolm's fond affection for his Engliſh wife, ſiſter to prince Edgar, his learning and commonly uſing or favouring her language, the uſual compliance and conformity of courtiers to the cuſtoms of their prince, and the general humour of kindneſs in the Scots at that time to the perſon or rights of Edgar, and to all his adherents, that loſt their own country, to follow his fortunes; the Engliſh language grew in this king's reign to be generally ſpoken, not only in the court of Scotland, but in ſeveral countries thereunto adjacent, and among moſt of the nobles in remoter provinces; and ſo it has ever ſince remained, as have many Engliſh families in thoſe parts habituated, and, with time, naturalized among them: and the ancient barbarous Scots tongue has been left current only in the more northern or northweſt and mountainous parts of that kingdom, and in the iſlands that ſeem to have been firſt and moſt intirely poſſeſſed by the Scyths or Scots, who ſo long ago invaded and conquered the northern parts of Britain and Ireland.

The contrary of this unuſual change in language appears to have ſucceeded in England, ſince in a little time nothing remained of the Norman language in common uſe, beſides the tranſlation of our common law, which, though deduced from the ancient Saxon ſtreams, yet the ſound, and forms, and practice came to be Norman; like rivers which ſtill run from their original ſources, but yet often change their taſte from the ſoil through which they take their courſe, and ſometimes from accidents of great inundations, which for the preſent change them, but leave them to return to their natural ſtreams. A ſingular and inſtructive example how ſtrange a difference there is in the compliance

pliance of a nation with the humour of a prince they love, or of one they fear.

Beſides theſe changes in the language of our laws and the forms of pleas, which were generally diſaffected by the Engliſh ſubjects; this Norman king, either upon pretence of juſtice and piety, or elſe of neceſſity and ſafety, aboliſhed ſeveral ancient Saxon inſtitutions and made ſeveral new; which, how reaſonable or how uſeful ſoever, yet bred ill blood among the nobles and clergy of England; though the people contented themſelves with the continuance of their ancient laws, and thought all they did or ſuffered for the king's ſervice well rewarded, while they might preſerve what they called the laws of Edward the Confeſſor: and the king was ſo wiſe, as often to renew his oath to maintain them for the general ſatisfaction of the people.

For the reſt, he took all juriſdiction and judgment in civil cauſes wholly out of the hands of the biſhops, where it had been placed in the whole Saxon ſucceſſion after their converſion to chriſtianity; and reſtrained the clergy to the exerciſe and adminiſtration of their eccleſiaſtical power. He endeavoured to aboliſh two ancient forms of trial uſed among the Saxons with great reverence, even during their chriſtian worſhip, though they were but remainders of their old Pagan ſuperſtition, but ſo rooted in the opinion of the people, as not to be diſpoſſeſſed by new reaſon or religion: theſe were the trials ordeal, and of camp-fight. The firſt was either by fire or by water, and uſed only in criminal caſes, where the accuſation was ſtrong, the ſuſpicions great, but no proofs evident. In that of fire, the perſon accuſed was brought into an open place, upon even ground; ſeveral plough-ſhares heated red hot were laid before them, at unequal diſtances, over which they were to walk blindfold, and if they eſcaped any harm, were adjudged innocent; if their feet were burned

burned by treading upon the hot irons, they were condemned as guilty. In the other of water, the accuſed were thrown into the water: if they ſunk immediately, they were eſteemed innocent, and guilty if they ſwam; either becauſe it ſeemed againſt the nature of heavy bodies, or that the clear element would not receive them, but rejected them as polluted perſons. The firſt trial was for thoſe of better condition, and the other for thoſe of inferior; and both were chiefly uſed upon accuſations of unchaſtity, of poiſoning, or of ſorcery.

Theſe trials, though grounded upon no reaſon, yet were thought approved by long experience; and the rather, I ſuppoſe, becauſe any ſucceeding proofs of innocence were difficult to find, as any precedent evidence of guilt: and they were commonly called, the judgments of God, and performed with ſolemn oraiſons and other ceremonies, that amuſed, or rather inchanted the ignorant people into an opinion of their being ſacred as well as juſt.

The trials of camp-fight were performed by ſingle combat, in liſts appointed by that purpoſe, between the accuſer and accuſed, and were uſual in actions both real and criminal, where no evident proof of fact appeared from witneſſes, or other circumſtances: the victor was acquitted, and the vanquiſhed, if not killed upon the field, was condemned. Theſe were performed with great ſolemnities, and either in preſence of the king, who granted the combat, or of certain judges by him appointed for that particular caſe.

Both theſe ſorts of trials the king aboliſhed as unchriſtian and unjuſt, and reduced all cauſes to the judgment of equals, or of a jury of twelve neighbours, and by legal forms: yet the laſt was ſome few times uſed in ſucceeding reigns.

In the beginning of his reign the kingdom had been much infeſted by outlaws and by robbers, and many

Normans were ſecretly murdered by the hatred of the Engliſh, as they paſſed along upon the ways or the fields, eſpecially in the night. To remedy this laſt miſchief, he impoſed a heavy fine upon the hundred, where the body of any Norman ſhould be found ſlain, whether any diſcovery were made or no of the author or complices of the fact. For all rapes and robberies, he cauſed them to be puniſhed ſo ſeverely by cruel mutilations of members, and hardſhips of labour, as left them miſerable ſpectacles, or warnings of their crimes, during the reſt of their lives. By the rigour of theſe courſes, and cutting off the chief cauſe of ſuch offences, which grow from idleneſs and expences, he reduced the whole realm to ſuch ſecurity, that it is recorded in his time how a fair maiden, with a purſe of gold in her hand, might have travelled through the realm without any danger offered to her honour or her money.

Beſides, to prevent any crimes that might be committed by favour or encouragement of the night, he ordered a bell to be rung in each pariſh at eight o'clock in the winter, and nine in the ſummer; after which every man was to cover his fire, and ſtir no more abroad that night: and this was for that reaſon called, the Corfew, or Couvrefew bell.

For the ſafety of his ſtate he erected ſeveral caſtles in many places moſt convenient of the kingdom; among which was the Tower of London and Newcaſtle upon Tyne (either built, or by this king much enlarged) and garriſoned them by Norman or Engliſh ſoldiers; but all ſuch as he moſt truſted, and who were ready in arms upon all occaſions. Yet theſe forts were looked upon by the Engliſh as unneceſſary in the times of peace, and as bridles upon the liberties of the people, rather than preventions of dangers to the crown.

After theſe inſtitutions he applied himſelf to the increaſe, order, and eſtabliſhment of his revenue; and having

having (as he believed) ſatisfied the people in general, by the confirmation of the ancient and beloved laws, he thought he might be bolder with the clergy, whom he knew to be generally his enemies, and whoſe clamours he the leſs feared, from his own known piety, in frequenting divine worſhip, in building and endowing ſeveral monaſteries, in preſents to many churches, both in England and Normandy; but eſpecially in great treaſures which he ſent frequently to Rome. Therefore, upon pretence of his enemies in the two laſt revolts (and ſuch as were deſigned to be their complices) having conveyed their plate, money, and jewels into the ſeveral monaſteries throughout the kingdom, he cauſed all the rich abbies to be ſearched, their money, plate, and jewels, which were not neceſſary, or of common uſe in divine ſervice, to be ſeized; and thereby brought at once a mighty treaſure into his coffers, but an inveterate hatred of the clergy upon his perſon and reign: and this was the laſt of thoſe actions that by the envenomed pens of the monkiſh writers of that age, left ſuch a charge upon the memory of this prince, by the imputation of cruelty, oppreſſion, violence, exaction, and the breach or change of laws of the kingdom, either human or divine; though the ſame authors little conſidered how ill this agrees with the high characters they themſelves give of his perſonal qualities and virtues. Nor is it probable that ſo vicious actions ſhould proceed from ſo virtuous diſpoſitions, or that ſo noble and excellent qualities of any prince ſhould be eſteemed by the preſent age, or celebrated to poſterity, which had been accompanied by cruel, infamous, or depraved actions during his life.

Having with theſe ſpoils of the clergy, as well as by the many forfeitures of the revolted nobles, repleniſhed his coffers for the preſent, he extended the care of his revenue not only to what might arrive in his own

life, but alſo in the times of ſucceeding kings. To this end he ſent commiſſioners into all the ſeveral counties of the whole realm, who took an exact ſurvey, and deſcribed in a cenſual roll or book, all the lands, titles, and tenures throughout the whole kingdom. In this were diſtinctly ſet down, not only every barony, each knight's fee, every plow-land, but alſo what owners, by what tenures, at what rents or duties they held, and what ſtock they were poſſeſſed of, and how many villains upon their reſpective eſtates. All lands that held anciently of the crown, or were by this king diſpoſed upon forfeitures, he ſubjected to the uſual tenures of baronies or knights fees, reſerving in all the dominion in chief to himſelf, ſome quit-rents, or fines upon death and alienation: and likewiſe the cuſtody of all heirs of ſuch lands as were left under age, and the diſpoſal of their fortunes, beſides what was aſſigned for their maintenance, till they came to years of diſpoſing their eſtates and themſelves.

This book was compoſed after two old examples of the ſame kind in the times of Ethelbert and Alfred, and was laid up as ſacred in the church of Wincheſter; and for that reaſon, as graver authors ſay, was called Liber Domus Dei, and by abbreviation, Domeſday-book. The vulgar account is, that the name was derived from the nature, and ſo called, becauſe every man was to receive his doom by that book, upon any diſpute about the value, tenure, payments, or ſervices of his lands, upon collection of the king's ordinary revenue, or the raiſing of any extraordinary taxes or impoſitions. And to make a precedent for the future, or to ſatisfy the great expences the king had been at for the compiling this great roll of the kingdom, ſix ſhillings was raiſed upon every plow-land, which made the deſign of it leſs agreeable to the people, though every man's right thereby received a new evidence, and no injuſtice was complained of in the digeſtion of

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ſo difficult a work, and of ſo various a nature. By this means the king came to an eaſy and exact knowledge of his whole conſtant revenue, and ſo proportioned it to his expences, and the neceſſary cares of having always a fund or reſerve of preſent treaſure in his coffers, that after this time we never find him plunged in any difficulties for want of money to ſupply many great occaſions that enſued in his reign, nor tempted to impoſe any taxes upon his ſubjects or other duties than what were common and known, and paid without preſſure or diſcontent among the commonalty of the realm: ſo as after all theſe inſtitutions, he paſſed ſeveral years in great tranquillity at home, as well as honour from all his neighbour princes.

About the thirteenth year of his reign he went into Normandy, leaving his brother Odon biſhop of Bayeux, and created earl of Kent, his vicegerent in England; and little apprehending any ſtorm after ſo long a fit of fair weather, or that he had left any ill blood behind him that was like to gather to a head with ſuch an inflammation, and ſo dangerous ſymptoms, as ſoon after appeared. But no condition of human life is ever perfectly ſecure, nor any force of greatneſs or of prudence beyond the reach of envy and the blows of fortune. Princes as well as private men are often in moſt danger at thoſe times and in thoſe parts they think themſelves the ſafeſt; as ſtrong towers are ſometimes taken on thoſe ſides that are thought impregnable, and ſo left undefended or little regarded. This conquering king eſteemed himſelf now at eaſe for the remainder of his life, and not only ſafe in his own ſtrength, but the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects. The Engliſh he had pleaſed in general, by the preſervation of their ancient laws; the braveſt and warmeſt blood of their nobles was drawn in the battle of Haſtings, or the wars with Scotland; their power was weakened by ſo many confiſcations, and the retreat of many more

into Scotland and Ireland. The Normans were ſtrong and numerous in England, and were his own by birth and by intereſt; the balance of theſe two parties ſeemed the defence of the whole; and it was not to be imagined that both ſhould combine in any danger to the crown. Beſides, there was left no pretenſion of any better right or title than his own, ſince Edgar had laid down his, not only in ſhew, but with firm reſolutions never to reſume them.

But many of the Engliſh nobles ſtill hated the name of a conqueſt, reſented the change of forms and language in their laws, the introduction of any new cuſtoms; but eſpecially the rigour of the foreſt-laws, which they knew to be arbitrary, and eſteemed not only a reſtraint of their innocent liberties, but an indignity in particular to themſelves. Some of the chief Norman lords, who had obtained great poſſeſſions by the king's bounty, and the confiſcations of the Engliſh, being now inveſted in their lands and in their titles, began to grow fond of their laws, as the ſafeſt tenure; and though they had gained their great eſtates by the favour of the king, yet they were not willing to hold them at his pleaſure; and ſo joined with the Engliſh nobles in the complaints of too great power exerciſed by the king, and the jealouſies of greater yet deſigned, to the prejudice of the ancient conſtitutions of the kingdom, and diminution of the authority or dependances of the nobles. Some of both nations, and equally ambitious ſpirits, who had been moſt favoured and advanced by the king, yet valuing their own merits too high, or their rewards too low, thought they had nothing, becauſe they had not all they pretended, eſteemed the king's favour or bounty to any others, as injury to themſelves, and were as unſatisfied with what they had gained, as others with what they had loſt.

Theſe

Theſe diſpoſitions floating at firſt in the minds of ſeveral great nobles, both Engliſh and Norman, and inflamed by ſuch of the eccleſiaſtics who had credit in the great families of both nations, grew at length to downright conſpiracy of diſpoſſeſſing the king of his crown, and introducing the Danes, who were allied to many great lords in England, were eſteemed by the Normans of the ſame race with their anceſtors. The chief of this conſpiracy were the earls of Norfolk and Suffolk, of greateſt power among the Engliſh nobility; Fitz Auber, a Norman, of near kindred to the king, and who had aſſiſted him with forty ſhips upon his Engliſh expedition, and been recompenſed with mighty poſſeſſions in England, and created earl of Hereford; the earl Waltheof, who had been pardoned his revolt, upon the Scots invaſion, married to the king's niece, and ever ſince intimately truſted, as well as favoured by the king. Theſe entered ſecretly into intelligence with Swane king of Denmark, and with Harold's ſons, who were ſtill refuged in Ireland: the firſt engaged to invade the northern parts with a navy of three hundred ſail; the laſt, by the aſſiſtance of Drone king of Ireland, to attempt the weſtern coaſts with ſixty ſhips; and the diſcontented lords, to make a ſtrong inſurrection in ſome of the northern provinces, upon approach of the Daniſh fleet, which was concerted to be ſoon after the king's intended journey into Normandy.

Theſe meaſures were laid with ſuch caution, and purſued with ſuch ſecrecy, that all was ready to be executed before the king in Normandy, or his miniſters in England, had either notice or ſuſpicion of any ſuch dangers or deſigns. Fitz Auber had aſked the king's leave ſome months before his Norman journey, to marry his ſiſter to the earl of Norfolk, and pretended ſome ſmall diſcontent at his refuſal. Not long after his departure he declared the marriage, and the day

appointed to conſummate it in Norfolk with great ſolemnity, and the recourſe of the neareſt relations and moſt intimate friends on both ſides, among whom were the earl Waltheof, and Euſtace earl of Bologne, who came over on purpoſe to aſſiſt at the conſultations here deſigned. At this meeting all was agreed; in what parts of the kingdom, under what leaders the ſeveral inſurrections ſhould be made, upon what pretences, and the time appointed to be when the Daniſh fleet ſhould appear upon the coaſt.

But ſome delays intervening, which are fatal to all conſpiracies that are truſted into many hands, this was diſcovered ſome days before the Danes arrived; but by whom of the accomplices is left uncertain, though ſome write that it was by earl Waltheof, upon the conſcience of ſo great an ingratitude to the king.

After the full and particular diſcovery of the whole plot, and all the chief conſpirators, Odon the vicegerent, with the aſſiſtance and advice of the king's council, immediately diſpatched away ſeveral parties of the king's beſt troops into the ſeveral parts where the inſurrections were intended to begin, ſeized upon many of the conſpirators before others had notice of the diſcovery, broke the reſt before they could draw to a head, took earl Waltheof and Fitz Auber priſoners, who were beheaded upon this occaſion, and many others impriſoned. Whether this execution was by the king's command out of Normandy, or by the rigour of his brother Odon, and upon pretence of neceſſity in ſo dangerous a conjuncture is not recorded; but it is agreed, that theſe two were the only nobles that were executed in England during the reign of William the Conqueror, notwithſtanding ſo many revolts, and ſo much power to puniſh and revenge them, which ſerves to make up that character of clemency of nature that is allowed this prince among his other virtues, even by thoſe writers who are ſevereſt upon his memory.

Both

Both the Danes and the Iriſh fleets were upon the Engliſh coaſts when they firſt received the news of their confederates diſcovery and diſaſters, upon which they returned to Denmark and to Ireland; and after this time the Danes never again attempted any invaſion upon England, nor was this conqueror any more infeſted or diſturbed by any of his Engliſh ſubjects during the reſt of his reign; finding the conſpiracy wholly ſuppreſſed, and the kingdom in perfect tranquillity upon his return, which he had yet haſtened out of Normandy upon the intelligence of his danger in England, and ignorance how deep it was rooted, or where it might end.

Nor was it eaſy to conjecture, ſince it was believed by wiſe men in that age, that the weakneſs and ill ſucceſs of this conſpiracy proceeded chiefly from the want of ſome popular pretenſion that might have raiſed a commotion of the people in favour of the lords; and that if this had been deſigned in defence of Edgar's known rights to the crown, and ſpirited by that prince at the head of ſo many Engliſh and Norman lords as were engaged in it, the throne had been endangered by this laſt ſhake. But the unfortunate prince Edgar had made his firſt pretenſions too late, and his laſt ſubmiſſions too ſoon, and the Daniſh title was hated by the commons of England, though favoured by many of the nobles, and thereby wanted the foundation proper and neceſſary to raiſe any firm building. Thus the infelicity of ſome princes may be occaſioned only by ill-timing their councils, when to attempt, and when to deſiſt in the juſteſt endeavours; and the greatneſs of others may be raiſed and preſerved by unforeſeen accidents, where the greateſt reach of foreſight and conduct might have failed. For had Edgar been at liberty to purſue his rights, upon this conjunction of the Engliſh and Norman nobility, he might probably have gained the crown; and had

not ſome of the chief complices diſcovered the conſpiracy, the conqueror might as probably have loſt it.

However theſe fortunes came to attend him thus far of his reign, yet here the curtain may be drawn over the happy ſcenes of this prince's life; for the next that muſt open will repreſent him in the decline of his age, embroiled in domeſtic quarrels, which could neither end in glory nor in gains; aſſaulted by his own children, oppoſed by his native ſubjects, forced to uſe ſtrangers to reduce them to duty and obedience after two dangerous revolts; and when theſe troubles were appeaſed, after much anguiſh of mind and many dangers, engaged by a trivial accident, and without any deſign, in a foreign war with a powerful prince; which, though purſued with his uſual vigour and fortune, it firſt coſt him his health, and at laſt his life.

William the Conqueror had by his wife Matild, daughter to Baldwin count of Flanders, four ſons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry, beſides ſeveral daughters. Richard was a prince of the greateſt hopes, but unfortunately killed by a ſtag while he was hunting in the new foreſt: his untimely fall was much lamented by the king, but leſs by the people, who interpreted it as a judgment upon him for the mighty waſtes he had made to extend the bounds of that foreſt, and for the rigour and oppreſſion of the foreſt-laws. The other three ſurvived their father, but with very different fortunes as well as merits, and very unequally diſtributed.

The king, before his expedition into England had promiſed his eldeſt ſon Robert the dukedom of Normandy, in caſe he conquered the kingdom he then pretended; this promiſe was made before the king of France, and challenged by Robert after the king's firſt eſtabliſhment upon the Engliſh throne. But the king,

though

though he denied not the promiſe he had made, yet long delayed the performance, upon pretence of his unſettled ſtate in England, from the diſcontents of his nobles, and the Scots invaſions, which made it neceſſary for him to keep Normandy as a retreat upon any great misfortune or revolution in England. Duke Robert ſeemed content with theſe reaſons whilſt they were juſtified by the appearances of any dangers in England; but perceiving they were ceaſed, and yet the delays continued, he grew at length impatient, and about the fourteenth year of the king's reign aſſumed the government of Normandy as ſovereign; and, in his own right, cauſed the Britons to ſwear fealty to him, as to the duke, and not as his father's lieutenant, and was received and obeyed by the Normans, who grew weary of a ſubordinate government, and thought they deſerved the preſence of their prince among them, which they had enjoyed ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of their poſſeſſions in France.

Beſides, Robert was generally beloved, as a prince courteous, generous, and brave, though withal ambitious, unquiet, and uncertain: yet theſe diſpoſitions, both of prince and people, had not alone induced him to engage in ſo bold a reſolution, with ſuch a breach of his duty and his truſt, without the practices and inſtigations of the king of France, who, grown jealous of king William's greatneſs, and envious of his felicity, found no better way of leſſening both, than to kindle this fire in his own houſe; and thereby the moſt ſenſibly to diſquiet his mind, as well as to diſjoint his ſtate and divide his power. He therefore not only encouraged Robert, but combined with him in this attempt, and engaged to ſupport him with his forces, if his father diſputed longer the juſtice of his claim.

The king, though at firſt diſcompoſed at the news of this inſolence in his ſon, yet believing it had no deeper

deeper root, but what would ſoon wither or be cut off by his preſence in Normandy, gathered immediately what forces he could raiſe, and with an army of his Engliſh ſubjects ſailed over now to invade Normandy, as he had done before to invade England with his Normans. A ſtrange revolution to befal one prince in ſo ſhort a period of time, and which made as great a change in his diſpoſitions as his fortunes; for the great alacrity and faithfulneſs which the Engliſh expreſſed towards him in this expedition, gained ſo far upon his affections and confidence, that in the reſt of his reign, and his ſucceeding wars, he ſeemed to place his chief truſt in the courage and loyalty of his Engliſh ſubjects.

Duke Robert, informed of his father's preparations, neglected not his own; and though ſurprized at the ſuddenneſs of his arrival, to which the winds had conſpired, he could not oppoſe his landing; yet ſoon after he was in the field at the head of a brave Norman army, and of two thouſand men at arms which the king of France had ſent to his aſſiſtance. With theſe forces he marched againſt the king, fell upon his vanguard, and by the ſucceſs of an ambuſh he had laid in an advantageous paſs, he broke them, killed ſome, and put the reſt to flight; then he advanced againſt the main body, where the king commanded, and by an unnatural chance, he charged his old father with ſuch fury, that by the ſtroke of his launce he wounded him in the arm, and overthew him to the ground. The king calling out upon his fall, his ſon immediately knew his voice, and ſtung, upon the ſudden, with the conſcience of his crime and his duty, he leaped from his horſe, raiſed his father up from the ground, fell down upon his knees, begged pardon of his offence, with offers, upon it, to return to his duty and obedience. The king, moved by the ſame force of nature,

ture, received his ſubmiſſions, forgave him, and embracing him, ended an adventure in tears of joy which had begun in blood. The armies were as eaſily reconciled as their leaders, and all together marched to Rouen, where the king was received with all demonſtrations of joy, and the duke complimented upon his happy reconcilement with his father; nor were thoſe the laſt in this crowd of rejoicers who had been the chief in promoting the quarrel between them.

The king made no long ſtay in Normandy, diſſembling the knowledge or reſentment of what part the French king had played in this affair; but after having re-eſtabliſhed the quiet and order of the province, returned with his whole forces into England, left his ſon in the government of Normandy, truſting to his duty and the loyalty of his ſubjects there, as if nothing had paſſed to give him the leaſt ſuſpicions of either. A true ſtrain of the noble and fearleſs nature of this prince, who was rather made to ſurmount all dangers he encountered by brave actions and judicious councils, than either to invite or anticipate his misfortunes, by diſtruſt and vain apprehenſions, which are but the diſtractions of weak and timorous minds.

Yet this ſincereneſs and confidence of the king had not the return they deſerved, for duke Robert having once taſted the ſovereign power, could not long digeſt any dependance upon another's will; and lying ſtill open to the practices of France upon his levity and ambition, relapſed the next year into his former diſtemper, and aſſumed again the ſovereignty of Normandy, and as duke thereof in his own right, which was again acknowledged and obeyed by the Normans.

The king, upon the news of this ſecond defection in his ſon and his ſubjects, fell into great paſſion, and in it is ſaid to have curſed his ſon and the hour wherein he begat him: but ſoon returning to himſelf, with his

his uſual judgment and compoſure of mind, gave preſent orders for preparing a much greater army and navy than he had uſed in the laſt year's expedition; and though both were ſhattered by great ſtorms he met with at ſea, yet, upon his arrival in Normandy, either the fame of his forces, or the lightneſs of his ſon's diſpoſitions, or remorſe of his duty, prevailed with duke Robert to offer again his ſubmiſſions and obedience to his commands. The king again received them, pardoned both his ſon and his revolted ſubjects; but forced now to more caution than he had uſed before, after having ſettled once more the peace and quiet of Normandy, and placed the government in ſafer hands, he took his ſon with him into England, and employed him in the hard rough wars of Scotland againſt Malcolm, who upon the king's abſence, and confidence of being long detained by the Norman revolt and diverſion of France, had taken occaſion to paſs the borders with an army, and ravage the northern provinces of England.

Though duke Robert gained no great honour by this expedition, yet the king gained his end; for the Scots, diſheartened by his unexpected return, and more by his perfect reconcilement with his ſon, returned home upon the approach of the Engliſh army, and renewed the peace, which laſted the reſt of the two kings lives.

About the ſame time, incenſed againſt the Welſh for many inroads and ſpoils upon the frontier counties, he ſent an army againſt them, ſubdued the plain and acceſſible parts of their country, drove them to the faſt holds of their mountains, forced them to ſue for a peace, which he granted upon homage done him by their prince, and upon hoſtages given for performance of the other conditions.

This fortunate and victorious king ſeemed now to have paſſed all the tempeſtuous ſeaſons of his life, and

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ſecure of repoſe for what remained, which was neceſſary or moſt agreeable to the great decline of his age. He was at peace with all his neighbours, obeyed and honoured by his ſubjects, feared by his enemies, and the troubles of his family were wholly appeaſed, ſo that it was hard for any man to conjecture from what ſide any new ſtorm ſhould ariſe. But the decrees of heaven are wrapped up in the clouds, and the events of future things hidden in the dark from the eyes of mortal men. The wiſeſt councils may be diſcompoſed by the ſmalleſt accidents, and the ſecureſt peace of eſtates and kingdoms may be diſturbed by the lighteſt paſſions, as well as the deep deſigns of thoſe who govern them: for though the wiſe reflections of the beſt hiſtorians, as well as the common reaſonings of private men, are apt to aſcribe the actions and councils of princes to intereſts or reaſons of ſtate; yet, whoever can trace them to their true ſpring, will be often forced to derive them from the ſame paſſions and perſonal diſpoſitions which govern the affairs of private lives; as will be evident in the ſequel of this king's reign.

The Normans were deſirous to have a prince of their race reſide among them; the king was unwilling to venture again the ill conſequences of his ſon Robert's ambition or inconſtancy, and therefore ſent him over into Normandy, but joined in commiſſion with his youngeſt ſon Henry, whoſe duty and affection he moſt relied on, both to obſerve the actions and temper the levity of his eldeſt brother.

Theſe two princes agreed better than is uſual to aſſociates in power, and governing the province with moderation and prudence, reduced affairs there to ſuch order and tranquillity, that having little buſineſs at home, they went to ſeek ſome diverſion abroad, and made a viſit to the king of France then at Conſtance,

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who received them with great honour and kindneſs; and, as was thought, not without deſign of renewing old practices with duke Robert to his father's prejudice. Whatever affairs might buſy the thoughts of that king and the duke, thoſe of Lewis the young dauphine and prince Henry were taken up with the common entertainments of youth and of leiſure, love, hunting, play, and other ſuch diverſements, wherein the ſimilitude of age and of cuſtoms made them conſtant companions. It happened one evening, that the dauphine, playing at cheſs at the prince's lodging, loſt a great many games, and much money to prince Henry, and grew thereupon firſt into ill humour, and at length into ill language; which being returned by the prince, the dauphine fell into paſſion, called him ſon of a baſtard, and threw ſome of the cheſsmen at his head: upon which prince Henry inraged, took up the cheſs-board, and ſtruck the dauphine with ſuch fury on the head, that he laid him bleeding on the ground, and had killed him, if his brother Robert had not retained him, and made him ſenſible how much more it concerned him to make his eſcape than purſue his revenge; and hereupon they went down immediately, took horſe, and by the help of their ſpeed, or their own good fortune, got ſafe to Pontoiſe, before they could be reached by the French that purſued them.

The king of France, exaſperated by this accident and indignity to his ſon, which revived an inveterate malice or envy he had againſt king William, firſt demanded ſatisfaction, but at the ſame time prepared for revenge, both by raiſing an army to invade Normandy, and taking private meaſures with duke Robert to diveſt his brother Henry of his ſhare in the government, and leave the dominion of that duchy to the duke, according to his former pretenſions, grounded upon

his father's promiſe; wherein the king of France, as a witneſs, ſtill pretended to be concerned.

The king of England, ſeeing the war inevitable, enters upon it with his uſual vigour, and, with incredible celerity, tranſporting a brave Engliſh army, invades France, and takes ſeveral towns in Poictou, whilſt the French took the city of Vernon. By which hoſtilities on both ſides, the firſt war began between England and France, which ſeemed afterwards to have been intailed upon the poſterity and ſucceſſors of theſe two princes for ſo many generations, to have drawn more noble blood, and been attended with more memorable atchievements, than any other national quarrel we read of in any ancient or modern ſtory.

King William, after taking of ſeveral towns, and ſpoiling much country in Poictou and Xantonge, returned to Rouen, where, by the benignity of his own nature and levity of his ſon's, he was the third time reconciled to duke Robert, and thereby diſappointed thoſe hopes the king of France had conceived from his practices with that prince (and, as ſome write, with his brother Henry too) and defeated his pretext of aſſiſting his right in the dominion of Normandy.

But Philip, bent upon this war by other incentives than thoſe which appeared from the favour of duke Robert's pretenſions, or revenge of the dauphine's injury, and moved both with the jealouſy of the king's greatneſs, and the envy of his glory and felicity, reſolved to proſecute obſtinately the quarrel he had raſhly begun: and not eſteeming the ſudden, though violent motions of a youthful heat between the two princes, a ground ſufficient to bear the weight of a formal and declared war; upon the news and ſpight of duke Robert's reconciliation with his father, he ſent to the king to demand homage of him both for Normandy and England; king William anſwered, that he was ready to do him the homage accuſtomed for

Normandy,

Normandy, but would do him none for England, which he held only of God and his ſword. The French king hereupon declared open war againſt him, which was begun and purſued with great heat and animoſities on both ſides with equal forces, but unequal fortune, which favoured either the juſtice of the king's cauſe, the valour of his troops, or the conduct of the leader, upon all encounters.

He marched into France, took Nantes, and burnt it, with many villages about it, ſaying, that to deſtroy the waſps, their neſts muſt be burnt. In the heat of this action, and by that of the fires, which he too near approached, he fell into a diſtemper, which forced him to retire his army, and return to Rouen, where he lay ſick for ſome time, with ill ſymptoms, that gave his friends apprehenſion, and hopes to his enemies. During the expectation of this event, both ſides were quiet, by a ſort of tacit and voluntary truce between them. The king of France talking of his ſickneſs, and mocking at the corpulency to which he was grown of late years, ſaid, king William was gone only to lay his great belly at Rouen, and that he doubted he muſt be at charge to ſet up lights at his up-riſing. The king of England being told this ſcoff, ſent king Philip word that he was ready to ſit up after his lying-in, and that when he was churched he would ſave him the charge of ſetting up lights, and come himſelf and light a thouſand fires in France.

No injuries are ſo ſenſible to mankind in general as thoſe of ſcorn, and no quarrels purſued between princes with ſo much ſharpneſs and violence, as thoſe which ariſe from perſonal animoſities or private paſſions, to which they are ſubject like other mortal men. The king recovered, gathered the greateſt forces he could raiſe both of Engliſh and Normans, marches into the Iſle of France, with fire and ſpoil where-ever he came, approaches within ſight of Paris, where that king

was

was retired: there king William ſent him word, that he was up and abroad, and would be glad to ſee him abroad too.

But the French king reſolved to let this fury paſs, and appeared not in the field, which was left to the mercy and ravage of his enemies. The king riding about to obſerve his advantages and give his orders, and ſtraining his horſe to leap a ditch in his way, bruiſed the bottom of his belly againſt the pommel of his ſaddle, with ſuch a weight, and ſo much pain, as gave him a relapſe of his illneſs ſo lately recovered, forced him to march his army back into Normandy, and to go himſelf to Rouen. Here his bruiſe turned to a rupture, and his ſickneſs increaſing with the anguiſh of his wound, gave too ſoon and true apprehenſions of his danger: yet he languiſhed for ſome time, which he made uſe of to do many acts of great charity, and give other teſtimonies of piety and reſignation to the will of God, as well as to diſpoſe the ſucceſſion and affairs of his ſtate; leaving by his teſtament the duchy of Normandy to his eldeſt ſon Robert, the kingdom of England to William his ſecond ſon, and all his treaſures, which were very great, to Henry his third. After this he ended his life in the full career of fortune and victory, which attended him to his grave, through the long courſe of more than threeſcore years reign: for he began that in Normandy about ten years old, and continued it above forty years before his Engliſh expedition, after which he reigned above twenty years in England, and died in or about the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the year of our Lord 1087.

Several writers ſhew their ill talent to this prince, in making particular remarks how his corpſe was immediately forſaken by all his friends and followers, as ſoon as he expired; how the monks of an abbey he had founded were thereby induced to come of charity, and take care of his body and his burial, which

he had ordered to be at Caen in Normandy, and in a church he had there built; how the ground that was opened to receive him was claimed at that inſtant by a knight of the country, who alledged it had belonged to his anceſtors and himſelf, and was violently or unjuſtly ſeized from them by the king, ſo that his funeral was fain to be deferred till an agreement was made, and the value of the ground paid to the claimer; with other invidious circumſtances, which may argue the ingratitude, avarice, or other vices of his ſervants or ſubjects then living, but not defame the memory or obſcure the glory of the dead.

Thus ended all that was mortal of this noble king and this renowned conqueror: for his fame will never die, but remain for ever in the laſting records of time and monuments of glory, among the princes moſt celebrated for their brave atchievements in war, their wiſe inſtitutions in peace, the length and proſperity of their lives and their reigns. In all which he muſt with juſtice be confeſſed not to have been equalled by many, if, indeed, by any we read of in ſtory.

I have made no mention of any great councils or aſſemblies held in this king's reign, becauſe I find no clear evidence of the nature or conſtitution, the times or the occaſions of them, whether like thoſe uſed in the Saxon reigns, or like the parliaments in Normandy; or whether that ſtyle was introduced here in this king's time, or that of his ſon's, who ſucceeded him. It appears, that he often aſſembled the nobles and barons of the realm, but whether upon the ſolemnity of ſome great feſtivals, or of ſome occaſions of more importance, either for the honour of his court or conſultation of his affairs, I find not ſo well recorded, nor ſo eaſy to determine as ſome will have it. It is agreed only, that there were two general aſſemblies of the clergy; one about the ſixth year of his reign upon a con-

a controverſy between the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York about the primacy, which was therein determined in favour of the firſt; the other about erecting ſome new biſhopricks, or tranſlating their ſees from ſome decayed and ſmaller towns to others grown in that age more populous and opulent. The Litchfield Chronicle alſo relates how in the fourth year of his reign he ſummoned out of every county the nobles, the wiſe men, and ſuch as were learned in their own law, that he from them might learn what were their ancient laws and cuſtoms. After which the laws of St. Edward were conſerved, and by him confirmed throughout the whole kingdom.

I have not been ſo particular as other writers in the names of places, or of perſons, or diſtinction of years; becauſe in ſuch antiquity of times and variety of authors I find them very hard to be aſcertained: beſides the diſagreement among writers is ſo great, in aſſigning the years to the ſeveral actions of this prince, that ſo important an affair as that of framing the Doomſday-book is by ſome referred to the eighth, by others to the thirteenth, and by ſome to the nineteenth year of his reign; and many others are left in the ſame uncertainty.

I have likewiſe omitted the accounts and remarks wherein ſome writers have buſied their pens, of ſtrange comets, inclemencies of ſeaſons, raging diſeaſes, or deplorable fires that are ſaid to have happened in this age and kingdom, and are repreſented by ſome as judgments of God upon this king's reign; becauſe I rather eſteem them accidents of time or chance, ſuch as happen in one part or other of the world, perhaps every age at ſome periods of time, or from ſome influence of ſtars, or by the conſpiring of ſome natural or caſual circumſtances; and neither argue the virtues or vices of princes, nor ſerve for example or inſtruc-

tion to poſterity, which are the great ends of hiſtory, and ought to be the chief care of all hiſtorians.

For this reaſon, as well as to comply with common cuſtom, it may not be improper or unneceſſary to end the wiſe, politic, and proſperous reign with the juſt character of this renowned prince. Since all great actions in the world and revolutions of ſtates may be truly derived from the genius of the perſons that conduct and govern them, ſo as by comparing both together, and obſerving the cauſes as well as events, it may be eaſy to diſcern by what perſonal qualities and diſpoſitions of princes the happy and glorious ſucceſſes of their own fortunes, with the greatneſs and felicity of their ſtates, are generally atchieved; for to attribute ſuch great events to time or to chance, were to deſtroy the examples and confound the conſequences of all virtues and vices among men.

William, ſurnamed The Conqueror, was of the talleſt ſtature among thoſe common in his age and country; his ſize large, and his body ſtrong built, but well proportioned; his ſtrength ſuch, as few of his court could draw his bow; his health was great and conſtant, which made him very active in his buſineſs and pleaſures, till about the decline of his age he grew ſomething corpulent. From all which, I ſuppoſe, came the ſtory in ſome Norman writers, that he was eight feet high, or the ſize of Hercules.

As he was of goodly perſonage, ſo his face was lovely, but of a maſculine beauty, the lines being ſtrong rather than delicate: his eyes were quick and lively, but when moved, ſomething fierce: his complexion ſanguine; his countenance very pleaſant when he was gay and familiar; when he was ſerious, ſomething ſevere.

His paſtimes were chiefly hunting and feaſting; in the firſt he ſpent much time, uſed great exerciſe, and yet much moderation of diet. In his feaſts, which were

were deſigned for magnificence or converſation, to know or be known among his nobles, and not for luxury, he was courteous, affable, familiar, and often pleaſant, and which made him the more ſo to his company, was eaſy at thoſe times in granting ſuits and pardons.

It is by all agreed that he was chaſte and temperate, which, with a happy conſtitution and much exerciſe, preſerved not only his health but vigour to the laſt decline of his age.

He was of ſound natural ſenſe, and ſhewed it not only in his own conduct and reaſoning upon all great occaſions, but alſo in the choice of his miniſters and friends, where no prince was happier or wiſer than he.

He talked little, never wanted, obſerved much, was very ſecret, and uſed only Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury with an univerſal confidence, both as a counſellor and a friend; to whom he was ever meek and gentle, though to others ſomething auſtere; as if this conqueror had been himſelf ſubdued by the wiſdom and virtue of that excellent man.

In his purpoſes he was ſteady, but not obſtinate, and though conſtant to his ends, yet appliable to occaſions, as appeared by his favouring and truſting the Normans in his troubles of England, and the Engliſh in thoſe of Normandy; and was either very wiſe or very happy in the arts of gaining enemies, and retaining friends, having never loſt but one, which was Fitz-Auber.

He was a prince deep in his deſigns, bold in his enterprizes, firm in his proſecution, excelling in the order and diſcipline of his armies and choice in his officers, both of his army and his ſtate; but admirable in expedition and diſpatch of civil as well as military affairs, never deferring till to-morrow what ſhould be done to-day.

Above all, he was careful and prudent in the management of his treaſure, and finding a temper between the bounty of his own nature and the neceſſity of his affairs, proportioning always the expences of his gifts, his buildings, his enterprizes, to the treaſure he was maſter of for defraying them, deſigning nothing out of his compaſs, and thereby compaſſing all he ſeemed to deſign.

He was religious in frequenting divine ſervice, giving much alms, building abbies and endowing them, ſending preſents of croſſes of gold, rich veſtures and plate to many other churches, and much treaſure to Rome.

He was a great lover of learning, and though he deſpiſed the looſe ignorant Saxon clergy he found in England, yet he took care and pleaſure to fill eccleſiaſtical dignities here with perſons of great worth and learning from abroad, as Lanfranc, Durand, Anſelm, with many more.

He was a lover of virtue in others; and a hater of vice; for being naturally very kind to his half brother Odon biſhop of Bayeux, having made him earl of Kent, given him great revenues, intruſted him in his abſence with the government of the realm; yet finding him a man of incurable ambition, avarice, cruelty, oppreſſion, and profaneneſs, he at length wholly diſgraced him, and kept him in priſon during all the reſt of his reign; which ſeems to have been a juſt puniſhment of his crimes, and ſacrifice to the Engliſh he had cruelly oppreſſed in the king's abſence, rather than a greedineſs of his treaſures, as ſome envious writers would make it appear.

Yet by the conſent of them all, and the moſt partial or malicious to his memory, as well as others, he is agreed to have been a prince of great ſtrength, wiſdom, courage, clemency, magnificence, wit, courteſy, charity, temperance, and piety. This ſhort character,

racter, and by all agreed, is enough to vindicate the memory of this noble prince and famous conqueror from the aſperſions or detractions of ſeveral malicious or partial authors, who have more unfaithfully repreſented his reign than any other period of our Engliſh hiſtory.

Having taken a full view of this king in his actions and his perſon, it remains only that we conſider the conſequences that both of them had upon the condition of this kingdom, which will be beſt diſcovered by the ſurvey of what is loſt, what is preſerved, and what is gained by this famous conqueſt.

England thereby muſt be confeſſed to have loſt; firſt, very great numbers of brave Engliſhmen who fell in the battle of Haſtings, and in two wars afterwards by the revolt of the nobles, and invaſion of the Scots in favour of Edgar Atheling; likewiſe many nobles and gentlemen who, diſdaining all ſubjection to a foreign and conquering power, retired into Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and, after the extinction of their hopes by the ſuppreſſion of all endeavours in favour of Edgar's right, never returned, but left their families habituated in thoſe countries, chuſing, if they muſt live under a foreign dominion, to do it rather abroad than at home.

In the next place, England loſt the true line of their ancient Saxon kings, who were a race of juſt, good, and pious princes, governed by ſuch known laws, and with ſuch moderation, and were ſo beloved of their people, as makes it obſerved by writers, that no popular inſurrection ever happened in any of the Saxon reigns.

Laſtly, England by the conqueſt loſt, in a great meaſure, the old plainneſs and ſimplicity of the Saxon times and cuſtoms of life, who were generally a people of good meaning, plain dealing, contented with their own, little coveting or imitating their neigh-

bours, and living frugally upon the product of their own fruitful ſoil: for the profuſion of meats at our Engliſh tables came in with the Danes, and the luxury of them was introduced firſt by the Normans, and after increaſed by the more frequent uſe of wines, upon the acceſſion of Guienne to his crown.

What we preſerved is remarkable in three particulars not uſual upon great conqueſts; for, firſt, we preſerved our name which was loſt by the Saxon invaſions, but that of England then (ſucceeding the other of Britain) has ever ſince continued.

Next, we preſerved our language, or the old Engliſh tongue, which has made the body and ſubſtance of what ſtill remains, though much enlarged and poliſhed ſince thoſe times, by the tranſplanting many words out of foreign languages, eſpecially Latin and French.

In the laſt place, we preſerved our forms of government, our laws and inſtitutions, which have been ſo much celebrated by ancient writers, and have been ſo obſtinately defended by our anceſtors; and are by chancellor Forteſcue, who writ in the time of Henry the Sixth, averred to have been preſerved through the five ſeveral governments in this iſland, of Normans, Danes, Saxons, Romans, and Britains, and ſo to have continued for a longer courſe of time than thoſe of Rome or Venice, or any other nation known in ſtory. But this, I doubt, is not ſo eaſily proved as affirmed, though it may be with more certainty of the three firſt, which is ſufficient to illuſtrate the antiquity of our conſtitutions, without recourſe to ſtrained or uncertain allegations.

For what we gained by our loſs in this conqueſt, though it ſeems a contradiction, yet it may be obſerved in many more particulars than the other two.

Firſt,

Firſt, England grew much greater, both in dominion and power, abroad, and alſo in dignity and ſtate at home, by the acceſſion of ſo much territory upon the continent. For though the Normans by the conqueſt gained much of the Engliſh lands and riches, yet England gained Normandy, which by it became a province to this crown.

Next, it gained greater ſtrength by the great numbers of Normans and French that came over with the conqueror, and after his eſtabliſhment here, and incorporated with the Engliſh nation, joining with them in the ſame language, laws, and intereſts.

Then we gained much by the great increaſe of our naval power and multitude of ſhips, wherein Normandy then abounded, by the advantage of more and better havens than in latter ages. This, with the perpetual intercourſe between England and Normandy, and other parts of the continent, gave us a mighty increaſe of trade and commerce, and thereby of treaſure to the crown and kingdom; which appeared firſt in ſo great a maſs as was left by the conqueror to prince Henry his younger ſon.

England by the conqueſt gained likewiſe a natural right to the dominion of the narrow ſeas, which had been before acquired only by the great naval power of Edgar and other Saxon kings. But the dominion of the narrow ſeas ſeems naturally to belong, like that of rivers, to thoſe who poſſeſs the banks or coaſts on both ſides; and ſo to have ſtrengthened the former title, by ſo long a coaſt as that of Normandy of one ſide, and of England on the other ſide of the channel.

Beſides, by this conqueſt we gained more learning, more civility, more refinement of language, cuſtoms, and manners, from the great reſort of other ſtrangers, as well as mixture of French and Normans.

And,

And, laſtly, we gained all our conſideration abroad by carrying our arms ſo often and ſo glorioufly, as well as extending our dominions, into foreign countries; ſo that whereas our Saxon kings were little known abroad, farther than by the fame of their devotion and piety, or their journies, gifts, and oblations made to Rome; after the conqueſt, the crown of England grew firſt to be feared by our neighbours, to have conſtant intercourſe with other foreign princes, to take part and be conſidered in all the affairs of Chriſtendom; and, by the following acceſſions of Anjou and Guienne, came in a ſhort time to be eſteemed, without controverſy, while they poſſeſſed thoſe dominions, the greateſt power of any kingdom then in Chriſtendom, as appears by ſo many glorious adventures and ſucceſſes of their arms in France, Spain, Britany, Flanders, Sicily, and the Holy Land.

From all theſe happy circumſtances of this famous conqueſt, all the ſucceeding kings of England ſeem juſtly to have done this conqueror the honour of dating from him the firſt great period of their reigns: by which thoſe of the Saxons, and other preceding dominions or governments here, are left us in ſtory, but like ſo many antique, broken, or defaced pictures, which may ſtill repreſent ſomething of the cuſtoms and faſhions of thoſe ages, though little of the true lines, proportions, or reſemblance. But all that has ſucceeded ſince this king's reign, though not drawn by any one ſkilful hand, or by the life, yet is repreſented in ſo clear a light, as leaves very little either obſcure or uncertain in the hiſtory of our kingdom, or the ſucceſſion of our kings.

UPON

UPON THE

GARDENS OF EPICURUS;

OR,

OF GARDENING,

In the Year 1685.

THE ſame faculty of reaſon, which gives mankind the great advantage and prerogative over the reſt of the creation, ſeems to make the greateſt default of human nature, and ſubjects it to more troubles, miſeries, or at leaſt diſquiets of life, than any of its fellow-creatures: it is this furniſhes us with ſuch variety of paſſions, and conſequently of wants and deſires that none other feels; and theſe followed by infinite deſigns and endleſs purſuits, and improved by that reſtleſneſs of thought which is natural to moſt men, give him a condition of life ſuitable to that of his birth; ſo that, as he alone is born crying, he lives complaining and dies diſappointed.

Since we cannot eſcape the purſuit of paſſions and perplexity of thoughts which our reaſon furniſhes us, there is no way left but to endeavour all we can, either to ſubdue or to divert them. This laſt is the common buſineſs of common men, who ſeek it by all ſorts of ſports, pleaſures, play, or buſineſs. But, becauſe the two firſt are of ſhort continuance, ſoon ending with wearineſs, or decay of vigour and appetite, the

the return whereof muſt be attended before the others can be renewed; and becauſe play grows dull if it be not enlivened with the hopes of gain, the general diverſion of mankind ſeems to be buſineſs, or the purſuit of riches in one kind or other; which is an amuſement that has this one advantage above all others, that it laſts thoſe men who engage in it to the very ends of their lives: none ever growing too old for the thoughts and deſires of increaſing his wealth and fortunes, either for himſelf, his friends, or his poſterity.

In the firſt and moſt ſimple ages of each country, the conditions and lives of men ſeem to have been very near of kin with the reſt of the creatures; they lived by the hour, or by the day, and ſatisfied their appetite with what they could get from the herbs, the fruits, the ſprings they met with when they were hungry or dry; then, with what fiſh, fowl, or beaſts they could kill, by ſwiftneſs or ſtrength, by craft or contrivance, by their hands, or ſuch inſtruments as wit helped or neceſſity forced them to invent. When a man had got enough for the day, he laid up the reſt for the morrow, and ſpent one day in labour that he might paſs the other at eaſe; and lured on by the pleaſure of this bait, when he was in vigour and his game fortunate, he would provide for as many days as he could, both for himſelf and his children that were too young to ſeek out for themſelves. Then he caſt about, how by ſowing of grain, and by paſture of the tamer cattle, to provide for the whole year. After this, dividing the lands neceſſary for theſe uſes, firſt among children, and then among ſervants, he reſerved to himſelf a proportion of their gain, either in the native ſtock or ſomething equivalent, which brought in the uſe of money; and where this once came in, none was to be ſatisfied without having enough for himſelf and his family, and all his and their poſterity for ever; ſo that I know

a certain

a certain lord who profeſſes to value no leaſe, though for an hundred or a thouſand years, nor any eſtate or poſſeſſion of land, that is not for ever and ever.

From ſuch ſmall beginnings have grown ſuch vaſt and extravagant deſigns of poor mortal men: yet none could never anſwer the naked Indian, why one man ſhould take pains, and run hazards by ſea and land all his life, that his children might be ſafe and lazy all theirs: and the precept of taking no care for to-morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the world, ſeems but to reduce mankind to their natural and original condition of life. However, by theſe ways and degrees the endleſs increaſe of riches ſeems to be grown the perpetual and general amuſement or buſineſs of mankind.

Some few in each country make thoſe higher flights after honour and power, and to theſe ends ſacrifice their riches, their labour, their thought, and their lives; and nothing diverts nor buſies men more than theſe purſuits, which are uſually covered with the pretences of ſerving a man's country and of public good. But the true ſervice of the public is a buſineſs of ſo much labour and ſo much care, that though a good and wiſe man may not refuſe it, if he be called to it by his prince or his country, and thinks he can be of more than vulgar uſe, yet he will ſeldom or never ſeek it; but leaves it commonly to men who, under the diſguiſe of public good, purſue their own deſigns of wealth, power, and ſuch baſtard honours as uſually attend them, not that which is the true, and only true reward of virtue.

The purſuits of ambition, though not ſo general, yet are as endleſs as thoſe of riches, and as extravagant; ſince none ever yet thought he had power or empire enough: and what prince ſoever ſeems to be ſo great, as to live and reign without any further deſires or fears, falls into the life of a private man, and enjoys but

thoſe pleaſures and entertainments, which a great many ſeveral degrees of private fortune will allow, and as much as human nature is capable of enjoying.

The pleaſures of the ſenſes grow a little more choice and refined; thoſe of imagination are turned upon embelliſhing the ſcenes he chooſes to live in; eaſe, conveniency, elegancy, magnificence, are ſought in building firſt, and then in furniſhing houſes or palaces: the admirable imitations of nature are introduced by pictures, ſtatues, tapeſtry, and other ſuch atchievements of arts. And the moſt exquiſite delights of ſenſe are purſued in the contrivance and plantation of gardens; which, with fruits, flowers, ſhades, fountains, and the muſic of birds that frequent ſuch happy places, ſeem to furniſh all the pleaſures of the ſeveral ſenſes, and, with the greateſt, or at leaſt the moſt natural perfections.

Thus the firſt race of Aſſyrian kings, after the conqueſts of Ninus and Semiramis, paſſed their lives, till their empire fell to the Medes. Thus the Caliphs of Egypt, till diſpoſed by their Mamalukes. Thus paſſed the latter parts of thoſe great lives of Scipio, Lucullus, Auguſtus, Diocleſian. Thus turned the great thoughts of Henry II. of France after the ends of his wars with Spain. Thus the preſent king of Morocco, after having ſubdued all his competitors, paſſes his life in a country villa, gives audience in a grove of orange-trees planted among purling ſtreams. And thus the king of France, after all the ſucceſſes of his councils or arms, and in the mighty elevation of his preſent greatneſs and power, when he gives himſelf leiſure from ſuch deſigns or purſuits, paſſes the ſofter and eaſier parts of his time in country-houſes and gardens, in building, planting, or adorning the ſcenes, or in the common ſports and entertainments of ſuch kind of lives. And thoſe mighty emperors, who contented

not themſelves with theſe pleaſures of common humanity, fell into the frantic or the extravagant; they pretended to be gods or turned to be devils, as Caligula and Nero, and too many others known enough in hiſtory.

Whilſt mankind is thus generally buſied or amuſed, that part of them who have had either the juſtice or the luck to paſs in common opinion for the wiſeſt and the beſt part among them, have followed another and very different ſcent; and inſtead of the common deſigns of ſatisfying their appetites and their paſſions, and making endleſs proviſions for both, they have choſen what they thought a nearer and a ſurer way to the eaſe and felicity of life, by endeavouring to ſubdue, or at leaſt to temper their paſſions, and reduce their appetites to what nature ſeems only to aſk and to need. And this deſign ſeems to have brought philoſophy into the world, at leaſt that which is termed moral; and appears to have an end not only deſirable by every man, which is the eaſe and happineſs of life, but alſo in ſome degree ſuitable to the force and reach of human nature: for, as to that part of philoſophy which is called natural, I know no end it can have but that of either buſying a man's brains to no purpoſe, or ſatisfying the vanity ſo natural to moſt men of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, by ſome way or other, from thoſe that ſeem their equals in birth and the common advantages of it; and whether this diſtinction be made by wealth or power, or appearance of knowledge, which gains eſteem and applauſe in the world, is all a caſe. More than this, I know no advantage mankind has gained by the progreſs of natural philoſophy, during ſo many ages it has had vogue in the world, excepting always, and very juſtly, what we owe to the mathematics, which is in a manner all that ſeem valuable among the civilized nations, more than thoſe we call barba-

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rous, whether they are ſo or no, or more ſo than ourſelves.

How ancient this natural philoſophy has been in the world is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient philoſophers in this kind among the moſt ancient now extant with us. The firſt who found out the vanity of it ſeems to have been Solomon, of which diſcovery he has left ſuch admirable ſtrains in Eccleſiaſtes. The next was Socrates, who made it the buſineſs of his life to explode it, and introduce that which we call moral in its place, to buſy human minds to better purpoſe. And, indeed, whoever reads with thought what theſe two, and Marcus Antoninus, have ſaid upon the vanity of all that mortal man can ever attain to know of nature, in its originals or operations, may ſave himſelf a great deal of pains, and juſtly conclude, that the knowledge of ſuch things is not our game; and (like the purſuit of a ſtag by a little ſpaniel) may ſerve to amuſe and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think thoſe three I have named may juſtly paſs for the wiſeſt triumvirate that are left us upon the records of ſtory or of time.

After Socrates, who left nothing in writing, many ſects of philoſophers began to ſpread in Greece, who entered boldly upon both parts of natural and moral philoſophy. The firſt with the greateſt diſagreement and moſt eager contention that could be upon the greateſt ſubjects: as whether the world were eternal, or produced at ſome certain time? whether, if produced, it was by ſome eternal mind, and by ſome end, or by the fortuitous concourſe of atoms, or ſome particles of eternal matter? whether there was one world, or many? whether the ſoul of man was a part of ſome etherial and eternal ſubſtance, or was corporeal? whether, if eternal, it was ſo before it came into the body, or only after it went out? There were the ſame contentions about the motions of the heavens, the magnitude

nitude of the celeſtial bodies, the faculties of the mind, and the judgment of the ſenſes. But all the different ſchemes of nature that have been drawn of old, or of late, by Plato, Ariſtotle, Epicurus, Des Cartes, Hobbs, or any other that I know of, ſeem to agree but in one thing, which is, the want of demonſtration or ſatisfaction to any thinking and unpoſſeſſed man; and ſeem more or leſs probable one than another, according to the wit and eloquence of the authors and advocates that raiſe or defend them; like jugglers tricks, that have more or leſs appearance of being real, according to the dexterouſneſs and ſkill of him that plays them; whereas perhaps, if we were capable of knowing truth and nature, theſe fine ſchemes would prove like rover ſhots, ſome nearer and ſome further off, but all at great diſtance from the mark; it may be, none in ſight.

Yet in the midſt of theſe and many other ſuch diſputes and contentions in their natural philoſophy, they ſeemed to agree much better in their moral; and, upon their inquiries after the ultimate end of man, which was his happineſs, their contentions or differences ſeemed to be rather in words, than in the ſenſe of their opinions, or in the true meaning of their ſeveral authors or maſters of their ſects: all concluded that happineſs was the chief good, and ought to be the ultimate end of man; that as this was the end of wiſdom, ſo wiſdom was the way to happineſs. The queſtion then was, in what this happineſs conſiſted? The contention grew warmeſt between the Stoics and Epicureans; the other ſects, in this point, ſiding in a manner with one or the other of theſe in their conceptions or expreſſions. The Stoics would have it to conſiſt in virtue, and the Epicureans in pleaſure; yet the moſt reaſonable of the Stoics made the pleaſure of virtue to be the re ateſt happineſs; and the beſt of the Epicureans made the greateſt pleaſure to conſiſt in virtue; and

the difference between theſe two ſeems not eaſily diſcovered. All agreed, the greateſt temper, if not the total ſubduing of paſſion, and exerciſe of reaſon, to be the ſtate of the greateſt felicity, to live without deſires or fears, or thoſe perturbations of mind and thought which paſſions raiſe; to place true riches in wanting little, rather than in poſſeſſing much, and true pleaſure in temperance, rather than in ſatisfying the ſenſes; to live with indifference to the common enjoyments and accidents of life, and with conſtancy upon the greateſt blows of fate or of chance; not to diſturb our minds with ſad reflections upon what is paſt, nor with anxious cares or raving hopes about what is to come; neither to diſquiet life with the fears of death, nor death with the deſires of life; but in both, and in all things elſe, to follow nature; ſeem to be the precepts moſt agreed among them.

Thus reaſon ſeems only to have been called in to allay thoſe diſorders which itſelf had raiſed, to cure its own wounds, and pretends to make us wiſe no other way than by rendering us inſenſible. This at leaſt was the profeſſion of many rigid Stoics, who would have had a wiſe man, not only without any ſort of paſſion, but without any ſenſe of pain as well as pleaſure; and to enjoy himſelf in the midſt of diſeaſes and torments, as well as of health and eaſe: a principle, in my mind, againſt common nature and common ſenſe; and which might have told us in fewer words, or with leſs circumſtance, that a man to be wiſe, ſhould not be a man; and this perhaps might have been eaſy enough to believe, but nothing ſo hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their notion, and fortunate in their expreſſion, when they placed a man's happineſs in the tranquillity of mind and indolence of body; for while we are compoſed of both, I doubt both muſt have a ſhare in the good

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or ill we feel. As men of ſeveral languages ſay the ſame things in very different words, ſo in ſeveral ages, countries, conſtitutions of laws and religion, the ſame thing ſeems to be meant by very different expreſſions; what is called by the Stoics apathy, or diſpaſſion; by the Sceptics indiſturbance; by the Moliniſts quietiſm; by commen men peace of conſcience; ſeems all to mean but great tranquillity of mind, though it be made to proceed from ſo diverſe cauſes, as human wiſdom, innocence of life, or reſignation to the will of God. An old uſurer had the ſame notion, when he ſaid, No man could have peace of conſcience, that run out of his eſtate; not comprehending what elſe was meant by that phraſe, beſides true quiet and content of mind; which, however expreſſed, is, I ſuppoſe, meant by all, to be the beſt account that can be given of the happineſs of man, ſince no man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondered how ſuch ſharp and violent invectives came to be made ſo generally againſt Epicurus by the ages that followed him, whoſe admirable wit, felicity of expreſſion, excellence of nature, ſweetneſs of converſation, temperance of life, and conſtancy of death, made him ſo beloved by his friends, admired by his ſcholars, and honoured by the Athenians. But this injuſtice may be faſtened chiefly upon the envy and malignity of the Stoics at firſt, then upon the miſtakes of ſome groſs pretenders to his ſect (who took pleaſure only to be ſenſual) and afterwards, upon the piety of the primitive Chriſtians, who eſteemed his principles of natural philoſophy more oppoſite to thoſe of our religion, than either the Platoniſts, the Peripatetics, or Stoics themſelves; yet, I confeſs, I do not know why the account given by Lucretius of the Gods ſhould be thought more impious than that given by Homer, who makes them not

only ſubject to all the weakeſt paſſions, but perpetually buſy in all the worſt or meaneſt actions of men.

But Epicurus has found ſo great advocates of his virtue, as well as learning and inventions, that there need no more; and the teſtimonies of Diogenes Laertius alone ſeem too ſincere and impartial to be diſputed, or to want the aſſiſtance of modern authors: if all failed, he would be but too well defended by the excellence of ſo many of his ſect in all ages, and eſpecially of thoſe who lived in the compaſs of one, but the greateſt in ſtory, both as to perſons and events: I need name no more than Cæſar, Atticus, Mæcenas, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace; all admirable in their ſeveral kinds, and perhaps unparalleled in ſtory.

Cæſar, if conſidered in all lights, may juſtly challenge the firſt place in the regiſters we have of mankind, equal only to himſelf, and ſurpaſſing all others of his nation and his age in the virtues and excellencies of a ſtateſman, a captain, an orator, an hiſtorian; beſides all theſe, a poet, a philoſopher, when his leiſure allowed him; the greateſt man of counſel and of action, of deſign and execution; the greateſt nobleneſs of birth, of perſon, and of countenance; the greateſt humanity and clemency of nature, in the midſt of the greateſt provocations, occaſions, and examples of cruelty and revenge: it is true, he overturned the laws and conſtitutions of his country, yet it was after ſo many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; ſo as, in what he did, he ſeems rather to have prevented others than to have done what himſelf deſigned; for, though his ambition was vaſt, yet it ſeems to have been raiſed to thoſe heights, rather by the inſolence of his enemies than by his own temper; and that what was natural to him was only a deſire of true glory, and to acquire it by good actions as well as great,

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by conquests of barbarous nations, extent of the Roman empire; defending at first the liberties of the plebeians, opposing the faction that had begun in Sylla, and ended in Pompey: and, in the whole course of his victories and successes, seeking all occasions of bounty to his friends and clemency to his enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the Romans; learned without pretending, good without affectation, bountiful without design, a friend to all men in misfortune, a flatterer to no man in greatness or power, a lover of mankind, and beloved by them all; and by these virtues and dispositions he passed safe and untouched through all the flames of civil dissensions that ravaged his country the greatest part of his life; and, though he never entered into any public affairs, or particular factions of his state, yet he was favoured, honoured, and courted by them all, from Sylla to Augustus.

Mæcenas was the wisest counsellor, the truest friend, both of his prince and his country, the best governor of Rome, the happiest and ablest negotiator, the best judge of learning and virtue, the choicest in his friends, and thereby the happiest in his conversation that has been known in story; and, I think, to his conduct in civil, and Aggripa's in military affairs, may be truly ascribed all the fortunes and greatness of Augustus, so much celebrated in the world.

For Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace, they deserve, in my opinion, the honour of the greatest philosophers, as well as the best poets of their nation or age. The two first, besides what looks like something more than human in their poetry, were very great naturalists, and admirable in their morals: and Horace, besides the sweetness and elegancy of his Lyrics, appears, in the rest of his writings, so great a master of life, and of true sense in the conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean strain of his philosophy

to refuſe being ſecretary to Auguſtus, when ſo great an emperor ſo much deſired it. But all the different ſects of philoſophers ſeem to have agreed in the opinion of a wiſe man's abſtaining from publick affairs, which is thought the meaning of Pythagoras's precept, to abſtain from beans, by which the affairs or publick reſolutions in Athens were managed. They thought that ſort of buſineſs too groſs and material for the abſtracted fineneſs of their ſpeculations: they eſteemed it too ſordid and too artificial for the cleanneſs and ſimplicity of their manners and lives: they would have no part in the faults of a government; and they knew too well, that the nature and paſſions of men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good, and therefore thought all the ſervice they could do to the ſtate they lived under, was to mend the lives and manners of particular men that compoſed it. But where factions were once entered and rooted in a ſtate, they thought it madneſs for good men to meddle with publick affairs; which made them turn their thoughts and entertainments to any thing rather than this; and Heraclitus, having, upon the factions of the citizens, quitted the government of his city, and amuſing himſelf to play with the boys in the porch of the temple, aſk thoſe who wondered at him, Whether it was not better to play with ſuch boys than govern ſuch men? But above all they eſtemed publick buſineſs the moſt contrary of all others to that tranquillity of mind, which they eſteemed and taught to be the only true felicity of man.

For this reaſon Epicurus paſſed his life wholly in his garden; there he ſtudied, there he exerciſed, there he taught his philoſophy; and, indeed, no other ſort of abode ſeems to contribute ſo much to both the tranquillity of mind and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. The ſweetneſs of air, the pleaſantneſs of ſmell, the verdure of plants, the clean-

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neſs and lightneſs of food, the exerciſe of working or walking; but above all, the exemption from cares and ſolicitude ſeem equally to favour and improve both contemplation and health, the enjoyment of ſenſe and imagination, and thereby the quiet and eaſe both of the body and mind.

Though Epicurus be ſaid to have been the firſt that had a garden in Athens, whoſe citizens before him had theirs in their villas or farms without the city; yet the uſe of gardens ſeems to have been the moſt ancient and moſt general of any ſorts of poſſeſſion among mankind, and to have preceded thoſe of corn or of cattle, as yielding the eaſier, the pleaſanter, and more natural food. As it has been the inclination of kings and the choice of philoſophers, ſo it has been the common favourite of publick and private men; a pleaſure of the greateſt, and the care of the meaneſt; and indeed an employment and a poſſeſſion for which no man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we muſt allow that God Almighty eſteemed the life of a man in a garden the happieſt he could give him, or elſe he would not have placed Adam in that of Eden; that it was the ſtate of innocence and pleaſure; and that the life of huſbandry and cities came after the fall, with guilt and with labour.

Where paradiſe was has been much debated, and little agreed; but what ſort of place is meant by it may perhaps eaſier be conjectured. It ſeems to have been a Perſian word, ſince Xenophon and other Greek authors mention it, as what was much in uſe and delight among the kings of thoſe eaſtern countries. Strabo deſcribing Jericho ſays, Ibi eſt palmetum, cui immixtæ ſunt etiam aliæ ſtirpes hortenſes, locus ferax palmis abundans, ſpatio ſtadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi eſt Regi Balſami paradiſus. He mentions another place to be prope Libanum et Paradiſum. And

Alexander is written to have ſeen Cyrus's tomb in a paradiſe, being a tower not very great, and covered with a ſhade of trees about it. So that a paradiſe among them ſeems to have been a large ſpace of ground, adorned and beautified with all ſorts of trees, both of fruits and of foreſt, either found there before it was incloſed, or planted after; either cultivated like gardens, for ſhades and for walks, with fountains or ſtreams, and all ſorts of plants uſual in the climate, and pleaſant to the eye, the ſmell, or the taſte; or elſe employed, like our parks, for incloſure and harbour of all ſorts of wild beaſts, as well as for the pleaſure of riding and walking: and ſo they were of more or leſs extent, and of different entertainment, according to the ſeveral humours of the princes that ordered and incloſed them.

Semiramis is the firſt we are told of in ſtory, that brought them in uſe through her empire, and was ſo fond of them, as to make one where-ever ſhe built, and in all, or moſt of the provinces ſhe ſubdued; which are ſaid to have been from Babylon as far as India. The Aſſyrian kings continued this cuſtom and care, or rather this pleaſure, till one of them brought in the uſe of ſmaller and more regular gardens: for having married a wife he was fond of, out of one of the provinces, where ſuch paradiſes or gardens were much in uſe, and the country lady not well bearing the air or incloſure of the palace in Babylon to which the Aſſyrian kings uſed to confine themſelves, he made her gardens, not only within the palaces, but upon terraſſes raiſed with earth, over the arched roofs, and even upon the top of the higheſt tower, planted them with all ſorts of fruit-trees, as well as other plants and flowers, the moſt pleaſant of that country; and thereby made at leaſt the moſt airy gardens, as well as the moſt coſtly, that have been heard of in the world. This lady may probably have been native

tive of the provinces of Chaſimer, or of Damaſcus, which have in all times been the happieſt regions for fruits of all the Eaſt, by the excellence of ſoil, the poſition of mountains, the frequency of ſtreams, rather than the advantages of climate. And it is great pity we do not yet ſee the hiſtory of Chaſimer, which monſieur Bernier aſſured me he had tranſlated out of Perſian, and intended to publiſh, and of which he has given ſuch a taſte, in his excellent memoirs of the Mogul's country.

The next gardens we read of are thoſe of Solomon, planted with all ſorts of fruit-trees and watered with fountains; and, though we have no more particular deſcription of them, yet we may find, they were the places where he paſſed the times of his leiſure and delight, where the houſes as well as grounds were adorned with all that could be of pleaſing and elegant, and were the retreats and entertainments of thoſe among his wives that he loved the beſt; and it is not improbable, that the paradiſes mentioned by Strabo were planted by this great and wiſeſt king. But the idea of the garden muſt be very great, if it anſwer at all to that of the gardener, who muſt have employed a great deal of his care, and of his ſtudy, as well as of his leiſure and thought, in theſe entertainments, ſince he writ of all plants, from the cedar to the ſhrub.

What the gardens of the Heſperides were, we have little or no account, further than the mention of them, and thereby the teſtimony of their having been in uſe and requeſt in ſuch remoteneſs of place and antiquity of time.

The garden of Alcinous deſcribed by Homer ſeems wholly poetical, and made at the pleaſure of the painter; like the reſt of the romantic palace in that little barren iſland of Phæacia or Corfu. Yet, as all the peice of this tranſcendant genius are compoſed with excellent knowledge,

knowledge as well as fancy, ſo they ſeldom fail of inſtruction as well as delight, to all that read him. The ſeat of this garden joining to the gates of the palace, the compaſs of the incloſure being four acres, the tall trees of ſhade, as well as thoſe of fruit, the two fountains, the one for the uſe of the garden, and the other of the palace, the continual ſucceſſion of fruits throughout the whole year, are, for aught I know, the beſt rules or proviſion that can go towards compoſing the beſt gardens; nor is it unlikely, that Homer may have drawn this picture after the life of ſome he had ſeen in Ionia, the country and uſual abode of this divine poet; and indeed, the region of the moſt refined pleaſure and luxury, as well as invention and wit: for the humour and cuſtom of gardens may have deſcended earlier into the Lower Aſia, from Damaſcus, Aſſyria, and other parts of the eaſtern empires, though they ſeem to have made late entrance, and ſmaller improvement in thoſe of Greece and Rome; at leaſt in no proportion to their other inventions or refinements of pleaſure and luxury.

The long and flouriſhing peace of the two firſt empires gave earlier riſe and growth to learning and civility, and all the conſequences of them, in magnificence and elegancy of building and gardening; whereas Greece and Rome were almoſt perpetually engaged in quarrels and wars either abroad or at home, and ſo were buſy in actions that were done under the ſun, rather than thoſe under the ſhade. Theſe were the entertainments of the ſofter nations, that fell under the virtue and proweſs of the two laſt empires, which from thoſe conqueſts brought home mighty increaſes both of riches and luxury, and ſo perhaps loſt more than they got by the ſpoils of the Eaſt.

There may be another reaſon for the ſmall advance of gardening in thoſe excellent and more temperate climates, where the air and ſoil were ſo apt of themſelves

ſelves to produce the beſt ſorts of fruits without the neceſſity of cultivating them by labour and care; whereas the hotter climates, as well as the cold, are forced upon induſtry and ſkill, to produce or improve many fruits that grow of themſelves in the more temperate regions. However it were, we have very little mention of gardens in old Greece or in old Rome for pleaſure or with elegance, nor of much curiouſneſs or care, to introduce the fruits of foreign climates, contenting themſelves with thoſe which are native of their own; and theſe were the vine, the olive, the fig, the pear, and the apple: Cato, as I remember, mentions no more; and their gardens were then but the neceſſary part of their farms, intended particularly for the cheap and eaſy food of their hinds or ſlaves imployed in their agriculture, and ſo were turned chiefly to all the common ſorts of plants, herbs, or legumes (as the French call them) proper for common nouriſhment; and the name of hortus is taken to be from ortus, becauſe it perpetually furniſhes ſome riſe or production of ſomething new in the world.

Lucullus, after the Mithridatic war, firſt brought cherries from Pontus into Italy, which ſo generally pleaſed, and were ſo eaſily propagated in all climates, that within the ſpace of about an hundred years, having travelled weſtward with the Roman conqueſts, they grew common as far as the Rhine, and paſſed over into Britain. After the conqueſt of Afric, Greece, the Leſſer Aſia, and Syria, were brought into Italy all the ſorts of their mala, which we interpret apples, and might ſignify no more at firſt, but were afterwards applied to many other foreign fruits: the apricots, coming from Epire, were called mala Epirotica; peaches from Perſia, mala Perſica; citrons of Media, Medica; pomegranates from Carthage, Punica; quinces, Cathonea, from a ſmall iſland in the Grecian ſeas: their beſt pears were brought from Alexandria, Numidia,

Greece

Greece, and Numantia, as appears by their ſeveral appellations: their plumbs from Armenia, Syria, but chiefly from Damaſcus. The kinds of theſe are reckoned, in Nero's time, to have been near thirty, as well as of figs; and many of them were entertained at Rome with ſo great applauſe, and ſo general vogue, that the great captains, and even conſular men, who firſt brought them over, took pride in giving them their own names (by which they run a great while in Rome) as in memory of ſome great ſervice or pleaſure they had done their country; ſo that not only laws and battles, but ſeveral ſorts of apples or mala, and of pears, were called Manlian and Claudian, Pompeian and Tiberian, and by ſeveral other ſuch noble names.

Thus the fruits of Rome, in about an hundred years, came from countries as far as their conqueſts had reached; and, like learning, architecture, painting, and ſtatuary, made their great advances in Italy about the Auguſtan age. What was of moſt requeſt in their common gardens in Virgil's time, or at leaſt in his youth, may be conjectured by the deſcription of his old Corycian's gardens in the fourth of the Georgics; which begins,

Namque ſub Oebaliæ memini turribus altis.

Among flowers, the roſes had the firſt place, eſpecially a kind which bore twice a year; and none other ſorts are here mentioned beſides the narciſſus, though the violet and the lily were very common, and the next in eſteem; eſpecially the breve lilium, which was the tuberoſe. The plants he mentions are the apium, which, though commonly interpreted parſly, yet comprehends all ſorts of ſmallage, whereof ſellery is one; cucumis, which takes in all ſorts of melons, as well as cucumbers; olus, which is a common word for all ſorts of pot-herbs and legumes; verbenas, which

which ſignifies all kinds of ſweet or ſacred plants that were uſed for adorning the altars; as bays, olive, roſemary, myrtle: the acanthus ſeems to be what we called pericanthe; but what their hederæ were, that deſerved place in a garden, I cannot gueſs, unleſs they had ſorts of ivy unknown to us; nor what his veſcum papaver was, ſince poppies with us are of no uſe in eating. The fruits mentioned are only apples, pears, and plumbs; for olives, vines, and figs were grown to be fruits of their fields, rather than of their gardens. The ſhades were the elm, the pine, the lime-tree, and the platanus, or plane-tree whoſe leaf and ſhade, of all others, was the moſt in requeſt; and, having been brought out of Perſia, was ſuch an inclination among the Greeks and Romans, that they uſually fed it with wine inſtead of water; they believed this tree loved that liquor, as well as thoſe that uſed to drink under its ſhade; which was a great humour and cuſtom, and perhaps gave riſe to the other, by obſerving the growth of the tree, or largeneſs of the leaves, where much wine was ſpilt or left, and thrown upon the roots.

It is great pity the haſte which Virgil ſeems here to have been in, ſhould have hindered him from entering farther into the account or inſtructions of gardening, which he ſaid he could have given, and which he ſeems to have ſo much eſteemed and loved, by that admirable picture of this old man's felicity, which he draws like ſo great a maſter, with one ſtroke of a pencil in thoſe four words:

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midſt of theſe ſmall poſſeſſions, upon a few acres of barren ground, yet he equalled all the wealth and opulence of kings, in the eaſe, content, and freedom his mind.

I am

I am not ſatisfied with the common acceptation of the mala aurea for oranges; nor do I find any paſſage in the authors of that age, which gives me the opinion, that theſe were otherwiſe known to the Romans than as fruits of the eaſtern climates. I ſhould take their mala aurea to be rather ſome kind of apples, ſo called from the golden colour, as ſome are amongſt us; for otherwiſe, the orange-tree is too noble in the beauty, taſte, and ſmell of its fruit; in the perfume and virtue of its flowers; in the perpetual verdure of its leaves, and in the excellent uſes of all theſe, both for pleaſure and health; not to have deſerved any particular mention in the writings of an age and nation ſo refined and exquiſite in all ſorts of delicious luxury.

The charming deſcription Virgil makes of the happy apple muſt be intended either for the citron, or for ſome ſort of orange growing in Media, which was either ſo proper to that country as not to grow in any other (as a certain ſort of fig was to Damaſcus) or to have loſt its virtue by changing ſoils, or to have had its effect of curing ſome ſort of poiſon that was uſual in that country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inſerting thoſe few lines out of the ſecond of Virgil's Georgics, not having ever heard any body elſe take notice of them.

Media fert triſtes ſuccos, tardumque ſaporem
Felicis mali; quo non præſentius ullum,
Pocula ſi quandò ſævæ infecere novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena;
Ipſa ingens arbos, faciemque ſimillima lauro;
Et, ſi non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit: folia haud ullis labentia ventis;
Flos apprima tenax: animas et olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac ſenibus medicantur anhelis.

Media

Media brings pois'nous herbs, and the flat taſte
Of the bleſs'd apple, than which ne'er was found
A help more preſent, when curs'd ſtep-dames mix
Their mortal cups, to drive the venom out:
'Tis a large tree, and like a bays in hue;
And, did it not ſuch odours caſt about,
'Twould be a bays; the leaves with no winds fall,
The flowers all excel: with theſe the Medes
Perfume their breaths, and cure old purſy men.

The tree being ſo like a bays or laurel, the ſlow or dull taſte of the apple, the virtue of it againſt poiſon, ſeem to deſcribe the citron: the perfume of the flowers and virtues of them, to cure ill ſcents of mouth or breath, or ſhortneſs of wind in purſy old men, ſeem to agree moſt with the orange: if flos apprima tenax mean only the excellence of the flower above all others, it may be intended for the orange; if it ſignifies the flowers growing moſt upon the tops of the trees, it may be rather the citron; for I have been ſo curious as to bring up a citron from a kernel, which at twelve years of age began to flower; and I obſerved all the flowers to grow upon the top branches of the tree, but to be nothing ſo high or ſweet-ſcented as the orange. On the other ſide, I have always heard oranges to paſs for a cordial juice, and a great perſervative againſt the plague, which is a ſort of venom; ſo that I know not to which of theſe we are to aſcribe this lovely picture of the happy apple; but I am ſatisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known it Italy, at that time, or long after, though the fruit be now ſo frequent there in fields (at leaſt in ſome parts) and make ſo common and delicious a part of gardening even in theſe northern climates.

It is certain thoſe noble fruits, the citron, the orange, and the lemon, are the native product of thoſe noble

noble regions, Aſſyria, Media, Perſia, and, though they have been from thence tranſplanted and propagated in many parts of Europe, yet they have not arrived at ſuch perfection in beauty, taſte, or virtue, as in their native ſoil and climate. This made it generally obſerved among the Greeks and Romans, that the fruits of the Eaſt far excelled thoſe of the Weſt. And ſeveral writers have trifled away their time in deducing the reaſons of this difference from the more benign or powerful influence of the riſing ſun. But there is nothing more evident to any man that has the leaſt knowledge of the globe, and gives himſelf leave to think, than the folly of ſuch wiſe reaſons, ſince the regions that are Eaſt to us, are Weſt to ſome others; and the ſun riſes alike to all that lie in the ſame latitude, with the ſame heat and virtue upon its firſt approaches, as well as in its progreſs. Beſides, if the eaſtern fruits were the better only for that poſition of climate, then thoſe of India ſhould excel thoſe of Perſia; which we do not find by comparing the accounts of thoſe countries: but Aſſyria, Media, and Perſia have been ever eſteemed, and will be ever found, the true regions of the beſt and nobleſt fruits in the world. The reaſon of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper ſoil, being there extended under the beſt climate for the production of all ſorts of the beſt fruits; which ſeems to be from about twenty-five, to about thirty-five degrees of latitude. Now the regions under this climate in the preſent Perſian empire (which comprehends moſt of the other two, called anciently Aſſyria and Media) are compoſed of many provinces full of great and fertile plains, bounded by high mountains, eſpecially to the North; watered naturally with many rivers, and thoſe by art and labour derived into many more and ſmaller ſtreams, which all conſpire to form a country, in all circumſtances, the moſt proper and agreeable for production of the beſt

beſt and nobleſt fruits. Whereas if we ſurvey the regions of the weſtern world, lying in the ſame latitude between twenty-five and thirty-five degrees, we ſhall find them extend either over the Mediterranean ſea, the ocean, or the ſandy barren countries of Africa; and that no part of the continent of Europe lies ſo ſouthward as thirty-five degrees; which may ſerve to diſcover the true genuine reaſon, why the fruits of the Eaſt have been always obſerved and agreed to tranſcend thoſe of the Weſt.

In our north-weſt climates, our gardens are very different from what they were in Greece and Italy, and from what they are now in thoſe regions in Spain or the ſouthern parts of France. And as moſt general cuſtoms in countries grow from the different nature of climate, ſoils, or ſituations, and from the neceſſities or induſtry they impoſe, ſo do theſe.

In the warmer regions, fruits and flowers of the beſt ſorts are ſo common and of ſo eaſy production, that they grow in fields, and are not worth the coſt of incloſing, or the care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other ſide, the great pleaſures of thoſe climates are coolneſs of air, and whatever looks cool even to the eyes, and relieves them from the unpleaſant ſight of duſty ſtreets, or parched fields. This makes the gardens of thoſe countries to be chiefly valued by largeneſs of extent (which gives greater play and openneſs of air) by ſhades of trees, by frequency of living ſtreams, or fountains, by perſpectives, by ſtatues, and by pillars and obeliſks of ſtone ſcattered up and down, which all conſpire to make any place look freſh and cool. On the contrary, the more northern climates, as they ſuffer little by heat, make little proviſion againſt it, and are careleſs of ſhade, and ſeldom curious in fountains. Good ſtatues are in the reach of few men, and common ones are generally and juſtly deſpiſed or neglected. But no ſorts of good

fruits or flowers, being natives of the climates, or uſual among us (nor indeed the beſt ſort of plants, herbs, ſallads for our kitchen-gardens themſelves) and the beſt fruits not ripening without the advantage of walls and palliſadoes, by reflexion of the faint heat we receive from the ſun, our gardens are made of ſmaller compaſs, ſeldom exceeding four, ſix, or eight acres; incloſed with walls, and laid out in a manner wholly for advantage of fruits, flowers, and the product of kitchen-gardens in all ſorts of herbs, ſallads, plants, and legumes, for the common uſe of tables.

Theſe are uſually the gardens of England and Holland, as the firſt ſort are thoſe of Italy, and were ſo of old. In the more temperate parts of France, and in Brabant (where I take gardening to be at its greateſt height) they are compoſed of both ſorts, the extent more ſpacious than ours; part laid out for flowers, others for fruits; ſome ſtandards, ſome againſt walls or paliſadoes, ſome for foreſt trees and groves for ſhade, ſome parts wild, ſome exact; and fountains much in requeſt among them.

But after ſo much ramble into ancient times and remote places, to return home and conſider the preſent way and humour of our gardening in England; which ſeem to have grown into ſuch vogue, and to have been ſo mightily improved in three or four-and-twenty years of his majeſty's reign, that perhaps few countries are before us, either in the elegance of our gardens, or in the number of our plants; and, I believe, none equal us in the variety of fruits which may be juſtly called good; and from the earlieſt cherry and ſtrawberry, to the laſt apples and pears, may furniſh every day of the circling year. For the taſte and perfection of what we eſteem the beſt, I may truly ſay, that the French, who have eaten my peaches and grapes at Sheen, in no very ill year, have generally concluded, that the laſt are as good as any they have eaten in France

on

on this ſide Fountainebleau, and the firſt as good as any they have eat in Gaſcony; I mean thoſe which come from the ſtone, and are properly called peaches, not thoſe which are hard, and are termed pavies; for theſe cannot grow in too warm a climate, nor ever be good in a cold; and are better at Madrid than in Gaſcony itſelf. Italians have agreed, my white figs to be as good as any of that ſort in Italy, which is the earlier kind of white fig there; for in the latter kind, and the blue, we cannot come near the warm climates, no more than in the Fontignac or Muſcat grape.

My orange-trees are as large as any I ſaw, when I was young, in France, except thoſe of Fountainebleau, or what I have ſeen ſince in the Low Countries, except ſome very old ones of the prince of Orange's; as laden with flowers as any can well be, as full of fruit as I ſuffer or deſire them, and as well taſted as are commonly brought over, except the beſt ſorts of Seville and Portugal. And thus much I could not but ſay in defence of our climate, which is ſo much and ſo generally decried abroad by thoſe who never ſaw it; or, if they have been here, have yet perhaps ſeen no more of it than what belongs to inns, or to taverns and ordinaries; who accuſe our country for their own defaults, and ſpeak ill, not only of our gardens and houſes, but of our humours, our breeding, our cuſtoms and manners of life, by what they have obſerved of the meaner and baſer ſort of mankind; and of company among us, becauſe they wanted themſelves, perhaps, either fortune or birth, either quality or merit, to introduce them among the good.

I muſt needs add one thing more in favour of our climate, which I heard the king ſay, and I thought new and right, and truly like a king of England, that loved and eſteemed his own country; it was in reply to ſome of the company that were reviling our cli-

mate, and extolling thoſe of Italy and Spain, or at leaſt of France: he ſaid, he thought that was the beſt climate, where he could be abroad in the air with pleaſure, or at leaſt without trouble or inconvenience, the moſt days of the year, and the moſt hours of the day; and this he thought he could be in England, more than in any country he knew of in Europe. And I believe it is true, not only of the hot and the cold, but even among our neighbours in France, and the Low Countries themſelves, where the heats or the colds, and changes of ſeaſons, are leſs treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our climate wants no heat to produce excellent fruits; and the default of it is only the ſhort ſeaſon of our heats or ſummers, by which many of the latter are left behind and imperfect with us. But all ſuch as are ripe before the end of Auguſt, are, for aught I know, as good with us as any where elſe. This makes me eſteem the true region of gardens in England to be the compaſs of ten miles about London, where the accidental warmth of air, from the fires and ſteams of ſo vaſt a town, makes fruits, as well as corn, a great deal forwarder than in Hampſhire or Wiltſhire, though more ſouthward by a full degree.

There are, beſides the temper of our climate, two things particular to us, that contribute much to the beauty and elegance of our gardens, which are the gravel of our walks, and the fineneſs and almoſt perpetual greenneſs of our turf. The firſt is not known any where elſe, which leaves all their dry walks, in other countries, very unpleaſant and uneaſy. The other cannot be found in France or in Holland as we have it, the ſoil not admitting that fineneſs of blade in Holland, nor the ſun that greenneſs in France, during moſt of the ſummer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the fineſt of our ſoils.

Whoever begins a garden ought in the firſt place, and above all, to conſider the ſoil, upon which the taſte of not only his fruits, but his legumes, and even herbs and ſallads, will wholly depend; and the default of ſoil is without remedy: for, although all borders of fruit may be made with what earth you pleaſe (if you will be at the charge) yet it muſt be renewed in two or three years, or it runs into the nature of the ground where it is brought. Old trees ſpread their roots further than any body's care extends, or the forms of the garden will allow; and after all, where the ſoil about you is ill, the air is ſo too in a degree, and has influence upon the taſte of fruit. What Horace ſays of the productions of kitchen-gardens, under the name of caulis, is true of all the beſt ſorts of fruits, and may determine the choice of ſoil for all gardens.

Caule ſuburbano, qui ſiccis crevit in agris,
Dulcior; irriguis nihil eſt elutius hortis.

Plants from dry fields thoſe of the town excel;
Nothing more taſteleſs is than watered grounds.

Any man had better throw away his care and his money upon any thing elſe, than upon a garden in wet or moiſt ground. Peaches and grapes will have no taſte but upon a ſand or gravel; but the richer theſe are, the better; and neither ſallads, peaſe, or beans, have at all the taſte upon a clay or rich earth, as they have upon either of the others, though the ſize and colour of fruits and plants may, perhaps, be more upon the worſe ſoils.

Next to your choice of ſoil, is to ſuit your plants to your ground, ſince of this every one is not maſter; though perhaps Varro's judgment, upon this caſe, is the wiſeſt and the beſt; for to one that aſked him, what he ſhould do if his father or anceſtors had left him a ſeat in ill air, or upon an ill ſoil? he an-

ſwered, Why ſell it, and buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the worth? Why, then take a quarter; but however, ſell it for any thing, rather than live upon it.

Of all ſorts of ſoil, the beſt is that upon a ſandy gravel, or a roſiny ſand; whoever lies upon either of theſe may run boldly into all the beſt ſort of peaches and grapes, how ſhallow ſoever the turf be upon them; and whatever other tree will thrive in theſe ſoils, the fruits ſhall be of a much finer taſte than any other: a richer ſoil will do well enough for apricots, plumbs, pears, or figs; but ſtill the more of the ſand in your earth the better, and the worſe the more of the clay, which is proper for oaks, and no other tree that I know of.

Fruits ſhould be ſuited to the climate among us, as well as the ſoil; for there are degrees of one and the other in England, where it is to little purpoſe to plant any of the beſt fruits, as peaches or grapes, hardly I doubt, beyond Northamptonſhire, at the furtheſt northwards; and I thought it very prudent in a gentleman of my friends in Staffordſhire, who is a great lover of his garden, to pretend no higher, though his ſoil be good enough, than to the perfection of plums; and in theſe (by beſtowing ſouth walls upon them) he has very well ſucceeded, which he could never have done in attempts upon peaches and grapes; and a good plum is certainly better than an ill peach.

When I was at Coſevelt with that Biſhop of Munſter that made ſo much noiſe in his time, I obſerved no other trees but cherries in a great garden he had made. He told me the reaſon was, becauſe he found no other fruit would ripen well in that climate, or upon that ſoil; and therefore, inſtead of being curious in others, he had only been ſo in the ſorts of that, whereof he had ſo many, as never to be without them from May to the end of September.

As to the ſize of a garden, which will perhaps, in time, grow extravagant among us, I think from four or five, to ſeven or eight acres, is as much as any gentleman need deſign, and will furniſh as much of all that is expected from it, as any nobleman will have occaſion to uſe in his family.

In every garden four things are neceſſary to be provided for, flowers, fruit, ſhade, and water; and whoever lays out a garden without all theſe, muſt not pretend it in any perfection: it ought to lie to the beſt parts of the houſe, or to thoſe of the maſter's commoneſt uſe, ſo as to be but like one of the rooms out of which you ſtep into another. The part of your garden next your houſe (beſides the walks that go round it) ſhould be a parterre for flowers, or graſs-plots bordered with flowers; or if, according to the neweſt mode, it be caſt all into graſs-plots and gravel-walks, the drineſs of theſe ſhould be relieved with fountains, and the plainneſs of thoſe with ſtatues; otherwiſe, if large, they have an ill effect upon the eye. However, the part next the houſe ſhould be open, and no other fruit but upon the walls. If this take up one half of the garden, the other ſhould be fruit-trees, unleſs ſome grove for ſhade lie in the middle. If it take up a third part only, then the next third may be dwarf-trees, and the laſt ſtandard-fruit; or elſe the ſecond part fruit-trees, and the third all ſorts of winter-greens, which provide for all ſeaſons of the year.

I will not enter upon any account of flowers, having only pleaſed myſelf with ſeeing or ſmelling them, and not troubled myſelf with the care, which is more the ladies part than the mens; but the ſucceſs is wholly in the gardener. For fruits, the beſt we have in England, or, I believe, can ever hope for, are, of peaches, the white and red maudlin, the minion, the chevereuſe, the ramboullet, the muſk, the admirable, which is late; all the reſt are either varied by names,

or not to be named with theſe, nor worth troubling a garden, in my opinion. Of the pavies or hard peaches, I know none good here but the Newington, nor will that eaſily hang till it is full ripe. The forward peaches are to be eſteemed only becauſe they are early, but ſhould find room in a good garden, at leaſt the white and brown nutmeg, the Perſian, and the violet muſk. The only good nectarins are the murry and the French; of theſe there are two ſorts, one very round, and the other ſomething long; but the round is the beſt: of the murry there are ſeveral ſorts, but being all hard, they are ſeldom well ripened with us.

Of grapes, the beſt are the chaſſelas, which is the better ſort of our white muſcadine (as the uſual name was about Sheen) it is called the pearl-grape, and ripens well enough in common years, but not ſo well as the common black, or currand, which is ſomething a worſe grape. The parſley is good, and proper enough to our climate; but all white frontiniacs are difficult, and ſeldom ripe unleſs in extraordinary ſummers.

I have had the honour of bringing over four ſorts into England; the arboyſe from the Franche Compte, which is a ſmall white grape, or rather runs into ſome ſmall and ſome great upon the ſame bunch; it agrees well with our climate, but is very choice in ſoil, and muſt have a ſharp gravel; it is the moſt delicious of all grapes that are not muſcat. The Burgundy, which is a grizelin or pale red, and of all others is ſureſt to ripen in our climate, ſo that I have never known them to fail one ſummer theſe fifteen years, when all others have; and have had it very good upon an eaſt wall. A black muſcat, which is called the dowager, and ripens as well as the common white grape. And the fourth is the grizelin frontignac, being of that colour, and the higheſt of that taſte, and the nobleſt of all grapes I ever eat in England, but requires the hotteſt wall and the ſharpeſt gravel; and muſt be favoured

by

by the ſummer too, to be very good. All theſe are, I ſuppoſe, by this time, pretty common among ſome gardeners in my neighbourhood, as well as ſeveral perſons of quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of figs, there are among us the white, the blue, and the tawny; the laſt is very ſmall, bears ill, and I think but a bawble. Of the blue there are two or three ſorts, but little different, one ſomething longer than the other; but that kind which ſmells moſt is ever the beſt. Of the white I know but two ſorts, and both excellent, one ripe in the beginning of July, the other in the end of September, and is yellower than the firſt; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raiſe, though an excellent fruit.

Of apricots, the beſt are the common old ſort, and the largeſt maſculin; of which this laſt is much improved by budding upon a peach-ſtock. I eſteem none of this fruit but the Bruſſels apricot, which grows a ſtandard, and is one of the beſt fruits we have, and which I firſt brought over among us.

The number of good pears, eſpecially ſummer, is very great, but the beſt are the blanquet, robin, rouſſelet, roſati, ſans, pepin, jargonel. Of the autumn, the buree, the vertelongue, and the bergamot. Of the winter, the vergoluz, chaſſeray, St. Michael, St. Germain, and ambret. I eſteem the bon-cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of plums, the beſt are St. Julian, St. Catherine, white and blue pedrigon, queen-mother, Sheen plum, and cheſton.

Beyond the ſorts I have named, none I think need trouble himſelf, but multiply theſe rather than make room for more kinds; and I am content to leave this regiſter, having been ſo often deſired it by my friends, upon their deſigns of gardening.

I need

I need ſay nothing of apples, being ſo well known among us; but the beſt of our climate, and I believe of all others, is the golden pippin; and for all ſorts of uſes: the next is the Kentiſh pippin; but theſe I think are as far from their perfection with us as grapes, and yield to thoſe of Normandy, as theſe to thoſe in Anjou, and even theſe to thoſe in Gaſcony. In other fruits the defect of ſun is in a great meaſure ſupplied by the advantage of walls.

The next care to that of ſuiting trees with the ſoil, is that of ſuiting fruits to the poſition of walls: grapes, peaches, and winter-pears, to be good, muſt be planted upon full ſouth, or ſouth-eaſt; figs are beſt upon ſouth-eaſt, but will do well upon eaſt and ſouth-weſt: the weſt are proper for cherries, plums, or apricots; but all of them are improved by a ſouth wall both as to early and taſte: north, north-weſt, or north-eaſt, deſerve nothing but greens: theſe ſhould be divided by woodbines or jeſſamines between every green, and the other walls, by a vine between every fruit-tree; the beſt ſorts upon the ſouth walls, the common white and black upon eaſt and weſt, becauſe the other trees, being many of them (eſpecially peaches) very tranſitory; ſome apt to die with hard winters, others to be cut down and make room for new fruits: without this method the walls are left for ſeveral years unfurniſhed; whereas the vines on each ſide cover the void ſpace in one ſummer, and, when the other trees are grown, make only a pillar between them of two or three foot broad.

Whoever would have the beſt fruits, in the moſt perfection our climate will allow, ſhould not only take care of giving them as much ſun, but alſo as much air as he can; no tree, unleſs dwarf, ſhould be ſuffered to grow within forty foot of your beſt walls, but the farther they lie open is ſtill the better. Of all others, this care is moſt neceſſary in vines, which are

obſerved

obſerved abroad to make the beſt wines, where they lie upon ſides of hills, and ſo moſt expoſed to the air and the winds. The way of pruning them too is beſt learned from the vineyards, where you ſee nothing in winter but what looks like a dead ſtump; and upon our walls they ſhould be left but like a ragged ſtaff, not above two or three eyes at moſt upon the bearing branches; and, the lower the vine and fewer the branches, the grapes will be ſtill the better.

The beſt figure of a garden is either a ſquare or an oblong, and either upon a flat or a deſcent; they have all their beauties; but the beſt I eſteem an oblong upon a deſcent. The beauty, the air, the view makes amends for the expence, which is very great in finiſhing and ſupporting the terras-walks, in levelling the parterres, and in the ſtone ſtairs that are neceſſary from one to the other.

The perfecteſt figure of a garden I ever ſaw, either at home or abroad, was that of Moor-Park in Hertfordſhire, when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the counteſs of Bedford, eſteemed among the greateſt wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor Donne; and with very great care, excellent contrivance, and much coſt; but greater ſums may be thrown away without effect or honour, if there want ſenſe in proportion to money, or if nature be not followed; which I take to be the great rule in this, and perhaps in every thing elſe, as far as the conduct not only of our lives, but our governments. And whether the greateſt of mortal men ſhould attempt the forcing of nature, may beſt be judged by obſerving how ſeldom God Almighty does it himſelf, by ſo few true and undiſputed miracles as we ſee or hear of in the world. For my own part, I know not three wiſer precepts for the conduct either of princes or private men, than

——Servare modum, finemque tueri,
Naturamque ſequi.

Be-

Becauſe I take the garden I have named to have been in all kinds the moſt beautiful and perfect, at leaſt in the figure and diſpoſition, that I have ever ſeen, I will deſcribe it for a model to thoſe that meet with ſuch a ſituation, and are above the regards of common expence. It lies on the ſide of a hill (upon which the houſe ſtands) but not very ſteep. The length of the houſe, where the beſt rooms and of moſt uſe or pleaſure are, lies upon the breadth of the garden; the great parlour opens into the middle of a terras gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may be, as I remember, about three hundred paces long, and broad in proportion; the border ſet with ſtandard laurels, and at large diſtances, which have the beauty of orange-trees, out of flower and fruit: from this walk are three deſcents by many ſtone-ſteps, in the middle and at each end, into a very large parterre: this is divided into quarters by gravel-walks, and adorned with two fountains and eight ſtatues in the ſeveral quarters; at the end of the terras-walk are two ſummer-houſes, and the ſides of the parterre are ranged with two large cloiſters, open to the garden, upon arches of ſtone, and ending with two other ſummer-houſes even with the cloiſters, which are paved with ſtone, and deſigned for walks of ſhade, there being none other in the whole parterre. Over theſe two cloiſters are two terraſſes covered with lead, and fenced with baluſters; and the paſſage into theſe airy walks is out of the two ſummer-houſes at the end of the firſt terras-walk. The cloiſter facing the ſouth is covered with vines, and would have been proper for an orange-houſe, and the other for myrtles, or other more common greens; and had, I doubt not, been caſt for that purpoſe, if this piece of gardening had been then in as much vogue as it is now.

From the middle of the parterre is a deſcent by many ſteps flying on each ſide of a grotto that lies between them

them (covered with lead, and flat) into the lower garden, which is all fruit-trees ranged about the ſeveral quarters of a wilderneſs which is very ſhady ; the walks here are all green, the grotto embelliſhed with figures of ſhell-rock-work, fountains, and water-works. If the hill had not ended with the lower garden, and the wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the park, they might have added a third quarter of all greens ; but this want is ſupplied by a garden on the other ſide the houſe, which is all of that ſort, very wild, ſhady, and adorned with rough rock-work and fountains.

This was Moor-Park when I was acquainted with it, and the ſweeteſt place, I think, that I have ſeen in my life, either before or ſince, at home or abroad ; what it is now I can give little account, having paſſed through ſeveral hands that have made great changes in gardens as well as houſes ; but the remembrance of what it was is too pleaſant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have miſtaken the figure of it, which may ſerve for a pattern to the beſt gardens of our manner, and that are moſt proper for our country and climate.

What I have ſaid of the beſt forms of gardens, is meant only of ſuch as are in ſome ſort regular ; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others ; but they muſt owe it to ſome extraordinary diſpoſitions of nature in the ſeat, or ſome great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance, which may reduce many diſagreeing parts into ſome figure, which ſhall yet upon the whole be very agreeable. Something of this I have ſeen in ſome places, but heard more of it from others who have lived much among the Chineſes ; a people whoſe way of thinking ſeems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does. Among us, the beauty of building and planting is placed

ced chiefly in ſome certain proportions, ſymmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees ranged ſo as to anſwer one another, and at exact diſtances. The Chineſes ſcorn this way of planting, and ſay, a boy that can tell an hundred may plant walks of trees in ſtraight lines, and over-againſt one another, and to what length and extent he pleaſes. But their greateſt reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty ſhall be great, and ſtrike the eye, but without any order or diſpoſition of parts that ſhall be commonly or eaſily obſerved: and though we have hardly any notion of this ſort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to expreſs it, and where they find it hit their eye at firſt ſight, they ſay the ſharawadgi is fine or is admirable, or any ſuch expreſſion of eſteem. And whoever obſerves the work upon the beſt India gowns, or the painting upon their beſt ſkreens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order. But I ſhould hardly adviſe any of theſe attempts in the figure of gardens among us; they are adventures of too hard atchievement for any common hands; and though there may be more honour if they ſucceed well, yet there is more diſhonour if they fail, and it is twenty to one they will; whereas in regular figures it is hard to make any great and remarkable faults.

The picture I have met with in ſome relations of a garden made by a Dutch governor of their colony, upon the cape de Bonne Eſperance, is admirable, and deſcribed to be of an oblong figure, very large extent, and divided into four quarters by long and croſs walks, ranged with all ſorts of orange-trees, lemons, limes, and citrons; each of theſe four quarters is planted with the trees, fruits, flowers, and plants that are native and proper to each of the four parts of the world; ſo as in this one incloſure are to be found the ſeveral gardens of Europe, Aſia, Afric, and America. There

could

could not be, in my mind, a greater thought of a gardener, nor a nobler idea of a garden, nor better ſuited or choſen for the climate, which is about thirty degrees, and may paſs for the Heſperides of our age, whatever or where-ever the other was; yet this is agreed by all to have been in the iſlands or continent upon the ſouth-weſt of Africa: but what their forms or their fruits were, none, that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their golden apples were for taſte, or only for ſight, as thoſe of Montezuma were in Mexico, who had large trees, with ſtocks, branches, leaves, and fruits, all admirably compoſed and wrought of gold; but this was only ſtupendous in coſt and art, and anſwers not at all, in my opinion, the delicious varieties of nature in other gardens.

What I have ſaid of gardening is perhaps enough for any gentleman to know, ſo as to make no great faults, nor be much impoſed upon in the deſigns of that kind, which I think ought to be applauded, and encouraged in all countries; that and building being a ſort of creation, that raiſe beautiful fabrics and figures out of nothing, that make the convenience and pleaſure of all private habitations, that employ many hands, and circulate much money among the poorer ſort and artiſans, that are a public ſervice to one's country, by the example as well as effect which adorn the ſcene, improve the earth, and even the air itſelf in ſome degree. The reſt that belongs to this ſubject muſt be a gardener's part, upon whoſe ſkill, diligence, and care, the beauty of the grounds and excellence of the fruits will much depend: though if the ſoil and ſorts be well choſen, well ſuited, and diſpoſed to the walls, the ignorance or careleſſneſs of the ſervants can hardly leave the maſter diſappointed.

I will not enter further upon his trade, than by three ſhort directions or advices: firſt, in all plantations,

tations, either for his maſter or himſelf, to draw his trees out of ſome nurſery that is upon a leaner and lighter ſoil than his own where he removes them; without this care they will not thrive in ſeveral years, perhaps never, and muſt make way for new, which ſhould be avoided all that can be; for life is too ſhort and uncertain to be renewing often your plantations. The walls of your garden, without their furniture, look as ill as thoſe of your houſe; ſo that you cannot dig up your garden too often, nor too ſeldom cut them down.

The ſecond is, in all trees you raiſe, to have ſome regard to the ſtock as well as the graft or bud; for the firſt will have a ſhare in giving taſte and ſeaſon to the fruits it produces, how little ſoever it is uſually obſerved by our gardeners. I have found grafts of the ſame tree upon a bon-cretien-ſtock bring chaſſeray pears that laſted till March, but with a rind green and rough; and others, upon a metre-john-ſtock, with a ſmooth and yellow ſkin, which were rotten in November. I am apt to think, all the difference between the St. Michael and the ambrette pear (which has puzzled our gardeners) is only what comes from this variety of the ſtocks; and by this, perhaps, as well as by raiſing from ſtones and kernels, moſt of the new fruits are produced every age. So the grafting a crab upon a white thorn brings the lazarolli, a fruit eſteemed at Rome, though I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the cidrato (or hermaphrodite) came from budding a citron upon an orange. The beſt peaches are raiſed by buds of the beſt fruits upon ſtocks growing from ſtones of the beſt peaches; and ſo the beſt apples and pears, from the beſt kinds grafted upon ſtocks from kernels alſo of the beſt ſorts, with reſpect to the ſeaſon, as well as beauty and taſte. And I believe ſo many excellent winter-pears as have come into France ſince forty years, may have been found

found out by grafting ſummer pears of the fineſt taſte and moſt water upon winter-ſtocks.

The third advice is, to take the greateſt care and pains in preſerving your trees from the worſt diſeaſe, to which thoſe of the beſt fruits are ſubject in the beſt ſoils, and upon the beſt walls. It is what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to obſerve it by the experience of my gardens, though I have ſince met with it in books both ancient and modern. I found my vines, peaches, apricots, and plums upon my beſt ſouth-walls, and ſometimes upon my weſt, apt for ſeveral years to a foot, or ſmuttineſs upon their leaves firſt, and then upon their fruits, which were good for nothing the years they were ſo affected. My orange-trees were likewiſe ſubject to it, and never proſpered while they were ſo; and I have known ſome collections quite deſtroyed by it. But I cannot ſay that ever I found either my figs or pears infected with it, nor any trees upon my eaſt-walls, though I do not well conjecture at the reaſon. The reſt were ſo ſpoiled with it, that I complained to ſeveral of the oldeſt and beſt gardeners of England, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the ſame misfortue, and eſteemed it ſome blight of the ſpring. I obſerved after ſome years, that the diſeaſed trees had very frequent, upon their ſtocks and branches, a ſmall inſect of a dark brown colour, figured like a ſhield, and about the ſize of a large wheat-corn; they ſtuck cloſe to the bark, and in many places covered it, eſpecially about the joints: in winter they are dry and thin-ſhelled, but in ſpring they begin to grow ſoft, and to fill with moiſture, and to throw a ſpawn like a black duſt upon the ſtocks, as well as the leaves and fruits.

I met afterwards with the mention of this diſeaſe, as known among orange-trees, in a book written upon that ſubject in Holland, and ſince in Pauſanias, as

a thing ſo much taken notice of in Greece, that the author deſcribes a certain ſort of earth which cures *pediculos vitis*, or, the lice of the vine. This is of all others the moſt peſtilent diſeaſe of the beſt fruit trees, and upon the very beſt ſoils of gravel and ſand (eſpecially where they are too hungry) and is ſo contagious, that it is propagated to new plants raiſed from old trees that are infected, and ſpreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine that it lies in the root, and that the beſt cure were by application there. But I have tried all ſorts of ſoil without effect, and can preſcribe no other remedy, than to prune your trees as cloſe as you can, eſpecially the tainted wood, then to waſh them very clean with a wet bruſh, ſo as not to leave one ſhell upon them that you can diſcern: and upon your oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every leaf, as well as bruſhing clean the ſtocks and branches. Without theſe cares and diligences, you had better root up any trees that are infected, renew all the mould in your borders or boxes, and plant new ſound trees, rather than ſuffer the diſappointments and vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know ſomething of this trade, ſince I have ſo long allowed myſelf to be good for nothing elſe, which few men will do, or enjoy their gardens, without often looking abroad to ſee how other matters play, what motions in the ſtate, and what invitations they may hope for into others ſcenes.

For my own part, as the country life, and this part of it more particularly, were the inclination of my youth itſelf, ſo they are the pleaſure of my age; and I can truly ſay, that, among many great employments that have fallen to my ſhare, I have never aſked or ſought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to eſcape from them into the eaſe and freedom of a pri-

vate ſcene, where a man may go his own way and his own pace, in the common paths or circles of life.

Inter cuncta leges et per cunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere lenitur ævum,
Quid minuat curæ, quid te tibi reddet amicum,
Quid pure tranquillet, honos, an dulce lucellum,
An ſecretum iter, et fallentis ſemita vitæ.

But above all the learned read, and aſk
By what means you may gently paſs your age,
What leſſens care, what makes thee thine own friend,
What truly calms the mind; honour, or wealth,
Or elſe a private path of ſtealing life.

Theſe are queſtions that a man ought at leaſt to aſk himſelf, whether he aſk others or no, and to chooſe his courſe of life rather by his own humour and temper, than by common accidents, or advice of friends; at leaſt if the Spaniſh proverb be true, That a fool knows more in his own houſe than a wiſe man in another's.

The meaſure of chooſing well is, whether a man likes what he has choſen; which, I thank God, has befallen me; and though, among the follies of my life, building and planting have not been the leaſt, and have coſt me more than I have the confidence to own, yet they have been fully recompenſed by the ſweetneſs and ſatifaction of this retreat, where, ſince my reſolution taken of never entering again into any publick employments, I have paſſed five years without ever going once to town, though I am almoſt in ſight of it, and have a houſe there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any ſort of affectation, as ſome have thought it, but a mere want of deſire or humour to make ſo ſmall a remove; for when I am in this corner, I can truly ſay with Horace,

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid ſentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari?
Sit mihi, quod nunc eſt, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
Quod ſupereſt ævi, ſi quid ſupereſſe volunt Di.
Sit bona librorum, et proviſæ frugis in annum
Copia, ne fluitem dubiæ ſpe pendulus horæ,
Hoc ſatis eſt oraſſe Jovem, qui donat et aufert.

Me when the cold Digentian ſtream revives,
What does my friend believe I think or aſk?
Let me yet leſs poſſeſs, ſo I may live,
Whate'er of life remains, unto myſelf.
May I have books enough, and one year's ſtore,
Not to depend upon each doubtful hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove to pray,
Who, as he pleaſes, gives and takes away.

That which makes the cares of gardening more neceſſary, or at leaſt more excuſable, is, that all men eat fruit that can get it; ſo as the choice is only, whether one will eat good or ill; and between theſe the difference is not greater in point of taſte and delicacy, than it is of health: for the firſt I will only ſay, that whoever has uſed to eat good will do very great penance when he comes to ill: and for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe fruit is extremly unwholſome, and cauſes ſo many untimely deaths, or ſo much ſickneſs about autumn, in all great cities where it is greedily ſold as well as eaten; ſo no part of diet, in any ſeaſon, is ſo healthful, ſo natural, and ſo agreeable to the ſtomach, as good and well-ripened fruits; for this I make the meaſure of their being good: and let the kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our climate, they are better never planted, or never eaten. I can ſay it for myſelf at leaſt, and all my friends, that the ſeaſon of ſummer fruits is ever the ſeaſon of health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of June

to

to the end of September: and for all ſickneſſes of the ſtomach (from which moſt others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are, like me, the moſt ſubject to them, ſhall complain, whenever they eat thirty or forty cherries before meals, or the like proportion of ſtrawberries, white figs, ſoft peaches, or grapes perfectly ripe. But theſe after Michaelmas I do not think wholſome with us, unleſs attended by ſome fit of hot and dry weather, more than is uſual after that ſeaſon: when the froſts or the rain hath taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the autumn and winter-pears are to be reckoned in ſeaſon, beſides apples, which, with cherries, are of all others the moſt innocent food, and perhaps the beſt phyſic. Now whoever will be ſure to eat good fruit, muſt do it out of a garden of his own; for beſides the choice ſo neceſſary in the ſorts, the ſoil, and ſo many other circumſtances that go to compoſe a good garden, or produce good fruits, there is ſomething very nice in gathering them, and chooſing the beſt even from the ſame tree. The beſt ſorts of all among us, which I eſteem the white figs and the ſoft peaches, will not carry without ſuffering. The beſt fruit that is bought, has no more of the maſter's care than how to raiſe the greateſt gains; his buſineſs is to have as much fruit as he can upon a few trees, whereas the way to have it excellent is to have but little upon many trees. So that for all things out of a garden, either of ſallads or fruits, a poor man will eat better, that has one of his own, than a rich man that has none. And this is all I think of neceſſary and uſeful to be known upon this ſubject.

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

CURE OF THE GOUT

BY

MOXA.

[Written to Monſieur De Zulichem.]

Nimeguen, June 18, 1677.

I Never thought it would have befallen me to be the firſt that ſhould try a new experiment, any more than be the author of any new invention; being little inclined to practiſe upon others, and as little that others ſhould practiſe upon me. The ſame warmth of head diſpoſes men to both, though one be commonly eſteemed an honour, and the other a reproach. I am ſorry the firſt, and the worſt of the two, is fallen to my ſhare, by which all a man can hope is to avoid cenſure, and that is much harder

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than to gain applauſe; for this may be done by one great or wiſe action in an age; but to avoid cenſure, a man muſt paſs his life without ſaying or doing one ill or fooliſh thing.

This might ſerve the turn, if all men were juſt; but as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that it is the idleſt pretenſion in the world to live without it; the meaneſt ſubjects cenſuring the actions of the greateſt prince; the ſillieſt ſervants, of the wiſeſt maſter; and young children, of the oldeſt parents: therefore I have not troubled myſelf to give any account of an experiment I made by your perſuaſion, to ſatisfy thoſe who imputed it to folly, raſhneſs, or impatience; but to ſatisfy you who propoſed the thing in kindneſs to me, and deſired the relation of it in kindneſs to other men.

I confeſs your engaging me firſt in this adventure of the Moxa, and deſiring the ſtory of it from me, is like giving one the torture, and then aſking his confeſſion; which is hard uſage to an innocent man and a friend. Beſides, having ſuffered the firſt, I took myſelf to have a right of refuſing the other. But I find your authority with me too great to be diſputed in either; and the pretence of public good is a cheat that will ever paſs in the world, though ſo often abuſed by ill men, that I wonder the good do not grow aſhamed to uſe it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you aſked, and cannot but ſay that I have done, as well as ſuffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the ſtory with the more circumſtance, becauſe many queſtioned the diſeaſe, that they might not allow of the cure; though the certainty of one, and force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two returns ſince I left you at the Hague, which paſſed with the ſame ſucceſs. The reaſonings upon this method, which ſeem to confirm the experiment, and other remedies for the gout

here reflected on, are aimed at the ſame end for which you ſeemed ſo much to deſire this relation. The digreſſions I cannot excuſe otherwiſe, than by the confidence that no man will read them, who has not as leaſt as much leiſure as I had when I writ them; and whoſoever diſlikes or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For thoſe about temperance, age, or their effects and periods, in reference to public buſineſs, they could be better addreſſed to none than to you, who have paſſed the longeſt life with the moſt temperance, and the beſt health and humour of any man I know; and, having run through ſo much great and public buſineſs, have found out the ſecret ſo little known, that there is a time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one piece of merit in this relation, which is to have writ it for you in Engliſh, being the language I always obſerved to have moſt of your kindneſs among ſo many others of your acquaintance. If your partiality to that, and to me, and to your own requeſt, will not excuſe all the faults of this paper, I have nothing more to ſay for it, and ſo will leave you to judge of it as you pleaſe.

AMONG all the diſeaſes to which the intemperance of this age diſpoſes it (at leaſt in theſe northern climates) I have obſerved none to increaſe ſo much within the compaſs of my memory and converſation, as the gout, nor any I think of worſe conſequence to mankind; becauſe it falls generally upon perſons engaged in public affairs and great employments, upon whoſe thoughts and cares (if not their motions and their pains) the common good and ſervice of their country ſo much depends. The general officers of armies, the govenors of provinces, the public miniſters in councils at home, and embaſſies abroad

abroad (that have fallen in my way) being generally ſubject to it in one degree or other. I ſuppoſe the reaſon of this may be, that men ſeldom come into thoſe poſts till after forty years old, about which time the natural heat beginning to decay, makes way for thoſe diſtempers they are moſt inclined to by their native conſtitutions, or by their cuſtoms and habits of life. Beſides, perſons in thoſe poſts are uſually born of families noble and rich, and ſo derive a weakneſs of conſtitution from the eaſe and luxury of their anceſtors, and the delicacy of their own education: or if not, yet the plenty of their fortunes from thoſe very employments, and the general cuſtom of living in them at much expence, engages men in the conſtant uſe of great tables, and in frequent exceſſes of ſeveral kinds, which muſt end in diſeaſes when the vigour of youth is paſt, and the force of exerciſe (that ſerved before to ſpend the humour) is given over for a ſedentary and unactive life.

Theſe I take to be reaſons of ſuch perſon being ſo generally ſubject to ſuch accidents more than other men; and they are ſo plain, that they muſt needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill conſequence of it is not ſo obvious, though perhaps as evident to men that obſerve, and may be equally confirmed by reaſons and example: it is, that the vigour of the mind decays with that of the body, and not only humour and invention, but even judgment and reſolution, change and languiſh with ill conſtitution of body and of health; and by this means public buſineſs comes to ſuffer by private infirmities, and kingdoms or ſtates fall into weakneſſes and diſtempers or decays of thoſe perſons that manage them.

Within theſe fifteen years paſt, I have known a great fleet diſabled for two months, and thereby loſe great occaſions, by an indiſpoſition of the admiral, while

while he was neither well enough to exercise, nor ill enough to leave the command. I have known two towns of the greatest consequence lost, contrary to all forms, by the governors falling ill in the time of the sieges.

I have observed the fate of a campania determine contrary to all appearances, by the caution and conduct of a general, which were attributed, by those that knew him, to his age and infirmities, rather than his own true qualities, acknowledged otherwise to have been as great as most men of the age. I have seen the counsels of a noble country grow bold or timorous, according to the fits of his good or ill health that managed them, and the pulse of the government beat high or low with that of the governor: and this unequal conduct makes way for great accidents in the world. Nay, I have often reflected upon the counsels and fortunes of the greatest monarchies rising and decaying sensibly with the ages and healths of the princes and chief officers that governed them. And I remember one great minister that confessed to me, when he fell into one of his usual fits of the gout, he was no longer able to bend his mind or thoughts to any public business, nor give audiences beyond two or three of his own domestics, though it were to save a kingdom; and that this proceeded, not from any violence of pain, but from a general languishing and faintness of spirits, which made him, in those fits, think nothing worth the trouble of one careful or solicitous thought. For the approaches or lurkings of the gout, the spleen, or the scurvy, nay, the very fumes of indigestion, may indispose men to thought and to care, as well as diseases of danger and pain.

Thus, accidents of health grow to be accidents of state, and public constitutions come to depend, in a great measure, upon those of particular men; which

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makes it perhaps ſeem neceſſary, in the choice of perſons for great employments (at leaſt ſuch as require conſtant application and pains) to conſider their bodies as well as their minds, and ages and health as well as their abilities.

When I was younger than I am, and thereby a worſe judge of age, I have often ſaid, that what great thing ſoever man propoſed to do in his life, he ſhould think of atchieving it by fifty years old. Now I am approaching that age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no man rides to an end of that ſtage without feeling his journey in all parts, whatever diſtinctions are made between the mind and the body, or between judgment and memory. And though I have known ſome few, who might perhaps be of uſe in council, upon great occaſions, till after threeſcore and ten, and have heard that the two late miniſters in Spain, counts of Caſtriglio and Pignoranda, were ſo till fourſcore; yet I will not anſwer, that the very conduct of public affairs, under their miniſtry, has not always taſted of the lees of their age.

I obſerve in this aſſembly at Nimeguen, from ſo many ſeveral parts of Chriſtendom, that of one-and-twenty ambaſſadors, there are but three above fifty years old; which ſeems an argument of my opinion being in a manner general: nor can I think the period ill calculated, at leaſt for a great general of armies, or miniſter of ſtate, in times or ſcenes of great action, when the care of a ſtate or an army ought to be as conſtant as the chemic's fire, to make any great production; and if it goes out for an hour, perhaps the whole operation fails. Now, I doubt whether any man after fifty be capable of ſuch conſtant application of thought, any more than of long and violent labour or exerciſe, which that certainly is, and of the fineſt parts: beſides, none that feel ſenſibly the decays of age, and his life wearing off, can figure to himſelf

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thoſe imaginary charms in riches and praiſe, that men are apt to do in the warmth of their blood; and thoſe are the uſual incentives towards the attempt of great dangers, and ſupport of great trouble and pains.

To confirm this by examples, I have heard that cardinal Mazarine, about five-and-fifty, found it was time to give over; that the preſent grand vifier, who paſſes for one of the greateſt men of that empire, or this age, began his miniſtry about twenty-eight: and the greateſt I have obſerved, which was that of monſieur De Witt, began at three-and-thirty, and laſted to forty-eight, and could not, I believe, have gone on many years longer at that height, even without that fatal end. Among other qualities which entered into the compoſition of this miniſter, the great care he had of his health, and the little of his life, were not, I think, the leaſt conſiderable; ſince from the firſt he derived his great temperance, as well as his great boldneſs and conſtancy from the other. And if intemperance be allowed to be the common mother of gout, or dropſy, and of ſcurvy, and moſt other lingering diſeaſes, which are thoſe that infeſt the ſtate; I think temperance deſerves the firſt rank among public virtues, as well as thoſe of private men, and doubt whether any can pretend to the conſtant ſteady exerciſe of prudence, juſtice, or fortitude, without it.

Upon theſe grounds, whoever can propoſe a way of curing or preventing the gout (which entered chiefly into thoſe examples I have mentioned of public affairs ſuffering by private indiſpoſitions) would perhaps do a ſervice to princes and ſtates, as well as to particular men; which makes me the more willing to tell my ſtory, and talk out of my trade, being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a belief, that what I have tried or thought, or heard upon this ſubject, may go a great way in preventing the growth of this diſeaſe where it is but new, though

perhaps

perhaps longer methods are neceſſary to deal with it when it is old.

From my grandfather's death I had reaſon to apprehend the ſtone, and from my father's life the gout, who has been for this many years, and ſtill continues, much afflicted with it. The firſt apprehenſion has been, I confeſs, with me ever the ſtrongeſt, and the other hardly in my thoughts, having never deſerved it by the uſual forms; nor had I ever, I thank God, the leaſt threat from either of them, till the laſt year at the Hague, being then in the ſeven-and-fortieth year of my age, when about the end of February, one night at ſupper, I felt a ſudden pain in my right foot, which, from the firſt moment it began, increaſed ſenſibly, and in an hour's time to that degree, that though I ſaid nothing, yet others took notice of it in my face, and ſaid, they were ſure I was not well, and would have had me go to bed. I confeſſed I was in pain, and thought it was with ſome ſprain at tennis: I pulled off my ſhoe, and with ſome eaſe that gave me ſtirred not till the company broke up, which was about three hours after my pain began. I went away to bed, but it raged ſo much all night, that I could not ſleep a wink: I endured it till about eight next morning, in hopes ſtill of ſtealing ſome reſt; but then making my complaints, and ſhewing my foot, they found it very red and angry, and, to relieve my extremity of pain, began to apply common poultices to it; and by the frequent change of them I found ſome eaſe, and continued this exerciſe all that day, and a great part of the following night, which I paſſed with very little reſt. The morning after my foot began to ſwell, and the violence of my pain to aſſuage, though it left ſuch a ſoreneſs, that I could hardly ſuffer the cloaths of my bed, nor ſtir my foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my illneſs, being enquired after about the town, was concluded to be the gout; and being

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no longer feveriſh, or in any extremity of pain, I was content to ſee company. Every body that came to viſit me found ſomething to ſay upon the occaſion; ſome made a jeſt of it, or a little reproach; others were ſerious in their mirth, and made me compliments, as upon a happy accident and ſign of long life. The Spaniards aſked me *albricias* for telling me the news, that I might be ſure it was the gout; and in ſhort, none of the company was in ill humour but I, who had rather by half have had a fever or a worſe diſeaſe at that time, where the danger might have been greater, but the trouble and the melancholy would, I am ſure, have been leſs.

Though I had never feared the gout, yet I had always ſcorned it as an effect commonly of intemperance, and hated it, as what I thought made men unfit for any thing after they were once deep engaged in it: beſides, I was preſſed in my journey at that time to Nimeguen by his majeſty's commands, to aſſiſt at the treaty there. Moſt of the ambaſſadors from the ſeveral parts of Chriſtendom were upon their way; one of my collegues was already upon the place, and I had promiſed immediately to follow; for by our commiſſion we were to be two to act in that mediation; and, to help at this pinch, I had always heard that a fit of the gout uſed to have ſix weeks at the leaſt for its ordinary period. With theſe comforts about me, and fullenneſs enough to uſe no remedy of a hundred that were told me, monſieur Zulichem came to ſee me (among the reſt of my friends) who, I think, never came into company without ſaying ſomething that was new, and ſo he did upon my occaſion. For talking of my illneſs, and approving of my obſtinacy againſt all the common preſcriptions, he aſked me whether I had never heard the Indian way of curing the gout by Moxa? I told him, No, and aſked him what it was? He ſaid it was a certain kind of moſs that grew in the

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East-Indies; that their way was, whenever any body fell into a fit of the gout, to take a small quantity of it, and form it into a figure broad at bottom as a two-pence, and pointed at top; to set the bottom exactly upon the place where the violence of the pain was fixed, then with a small round perfumed match (made likewise in the Indies) to give fire to the top of the moss, which burning down by degrees, came at length to the skin, and burnt it till the moss was consumed to ashes: that many times the first burning would remove the pain; if not, it was to be renewed a second, third, and fourth time, till it went away, and till the person found he could set his foot boldly to the ground and walk.

I desired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new operation: he said, by the relation of several who had seen and tried it in the Indies, but particularly by an ingenious little book written of it by a Dutch minister at Batavia, who being extremely tormented with a fit of the gout, an old Indian woman coming to see him, undertook to cure him, and did it immediately by this Moxa; and after many experiments of it there, had written this treatise of it in Dutch for the use of his countrymen, and sent over a quantity of the moss and matches to his son at Utrecht, to be sold, if any would be persuaded to use them. That though he could not say whether experiment had been made of it here, yet the book was worth reading; and, for his part, he thought he should try it, if ever he should fall into that disease.

I desired the book, which he promised to send me next morning; and this discourse of monsieur Zulichem busied my head all night. I hated the very name of the gout, and thought it a reproach; and for the good sign people called it, I could not find that mended an ill thing; nor could I like any sign of living

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long in weakneſs or in pain. I deplored the loſs of my legs, and confinement to my chamber at an age that left me little pleaſure but of walking and of air; but the worſt circumſtance of all was the ſentence paſt upon it of being without cure.

I had paſſed twenty years of my life, and ſeveral accidents of danger in my health, without any uſe of phyſicians; and, from ſome experiments of my own, as well as much reading and thought upon that ſubject, had reaſoned myſelf into an opinion, that the uſe of them and their methods (unleſs in ſome ſudden and acute diſeaſe) was itſelf a very great venture; and that their greateſt practiſers practiſed leaſt upon themſelves or their friends. I had ever quarrelled with their ſtudying art more than nature, and applying themſelves to methods, rather than to remedies; whereas the knowledge of the laſt is all that nine parts in ten of the world have truſted to in all ages.

But for the common remedies of the gout, I found exceptions to them all; the time of purging was paſt with me, which otherwiſe I ſhould certainly have tried upon the authority of the great Hippocrates, who ſays it ſhould be done upon the firſt motion of the humour in the gout. For poultices, I knew they allayed pain; but withal, that they drew down the humours, and ſupplied the parts, thereby making the paſſages wider, and apter to receive them in greater quantity; and I had often heard it concluded, that the uſe of them ended in loſing that of one's limbs, by weakening the joint upon every fit. For plaiſters that had any effect, I thought it muſt be by diſperſing or repelling the humours, which could not be done without endangering perhaps ſome other diſeaſe of the bowels, the ſtomach, or the head. Reſt and warmth, either of cloaths or bathings, I doubted would in a degree have the effects of poultices; and ſweating was proper for prevention, rather than remedy. So that all I could end in, with

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any ſatisfaction, was patience and abſtinence; and though I eaſily reſolved of the laſt, yet the firſt was hard to be found in the circumſtances of my buſineſs as well as of my health.

All this made me rave upon monſieur Zulichem's new operation; and for the way of curing by fire, I found twenty things to give me an opinion of it: I remembered what I had read of the Egyptians of old, who uſed it in moſt diſeaſes; and what I had often heard of that practice ſtill continuing among the Moors of Afric; ſo that a ſlave is ſeldom taken (as both Spaniards and Portugueſe affirm) who has not many ſcars of the hot iron upon his body, which they uſe upon moſt diſtempers, but eſpecially thoſe of the head, and conſequently in phyſic as well as in ſurgery. In the time of the incas reign in Peru (which I take to have been one of the greateſt conſtitutions of abſolute monarchy that has been in the world) no compoſition was allowed by the laws to be uſed in point of medicine, but only ſimples proper to each diſeaſe. Burning was much in uſe either by natural or artificial fires; particularly for all illneſs of teeth, and ſoreneſs or ſwelling of the gums (which they were ſubject to from their nearneſs to the ſea) they had an herb which never failed of curing it, and, being laid to the gums, burnt away all the fleſh that was ſwelled or corrupted, and made way for new that came again as ſound as that of a child. I remembered to have had myſelf, in my youth, one cruel wound cured by ſcalding medicament, after it was grown ſo putrefied as to have (in the ſurgeon's opinion) endangered the bone; and the violent ſwelling and bruiſe of another taken away as ſoon as I received it, by ſcalding it with milk. I remembered the cure of chilblains, when I was a boy (which may be called the childrens gout) by burning at the fire, or elſe by ſcalding brine, that has (I ſuppoſe) the ſame effect. I had heard of curing the ſtings of adders,

and bites of mad dogs, by immediately burning the part with a hot iron; and of ſome ſtrange cures of frenzies, by caſual applications of fire to the lower parts; which ſeems reaſonable enough, by the violent revulſion it may make of humours from the head; and agrees with the opinions and practice I mentioned before, of Egypt and Africa. Perhaps bliſtering in the neck, and hot pigeons, may be in uſe among us upon the ſame grounds; and in our methods of ſurgery, nothing is found of ſuch effect in the caſe of old ulcers as fire, which is certainly the greateſt drawer and drier, and thereby the greateſt cleanſer that can be found. I knew very well, that in diſeaſes of cattle there is nothing more commonly uſed, nor with greater ſucceſs; and concluded it was but a tenderneſs to mankind that made it leſs in uſe amongſt us, and which had introduced corroſives and cauſtics to ſupply the place of it, which are indeed but artificial fires.

I mention all theſe reflections to ſhew that the experiment I reſolved to make was upon thought, and not raſhneſs or impatience (as thoſe called it that would have diſſuaded me from it) but the chief reaſon was, that I liked no other, becauſe I knew they failed every day, and left men in deſpair of being ever well cured of the gout.

Next morning I looked over the book which monſieur Zulichem had promiſed me, written by the miniſter at Batavia. I pretended not to judge of the Indian philoſophy, or reaſonings upon the cauſe of the gout; but yet thought them as probable as thoſe of phyſicians here; and liked them ſo much the better, becauſe it ſeems their opinion in the point is general among them, as well as their method of curing; whereas the differences among ours are almoſt as many in both, as there are phyſicians that reaſon upon the cauſes, or practiſe upon the cure of that diſeaſe. They hold, that the cauſe of the gout is a malignant

vapour

vapour that falls upon the joint between the bone and the ſkin that covers it, which being the moſt ſenſible of all parts of the body, cauſes the violence of the pain. That the ſwelling is no part of the diſeaſe, but only an effect of it, and of a kindneſs in nature, that, to relieve the part affected, calls down humours to damp the malignity of the vapour, and thereby aſſuage the ſharpneſs of the pain; which ſeldom fails, whenever the part grows very much ſwelled. That conſequently the ſwellings and returns of the gout are chiefly occaſioned by the ill methods of curing it at firſt. That this vapour falling upon joints which have not motion, and thereby heat enough to diſpel it, cannot be cured otherwiſe than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the preſent ceaſing of the pain upon the ſecond, third, or fourth application of the Moxa, which are performed in a few minutes time. And the author affirms it happens often there, that upon the laſt burning, an extreme ſtench comes out of the ſkin where the fire had opened it.

Whatever the reaſonings were, which yet ſeemed ingenious enough, the experiments alledged with ſo much confidence, and to be ſo general in thoſe parts, and told by an author that writ like a plain man, and one whoſe profeſſion was to tell truth, helped me to reſolve upon making the trial. I was confirmed in this reſolution by a German phyſician, doctor Theodore Coledy, who was then in my family, a ſober and intelligent man, whom I diſpatched immediately to Utrecht to bring me ſome of the Moxa, and learn the exact method of uſing it from the man that ſold it, who was ſon to the miniſter of Batavia. He returned with all that belonged to this cure, having performed the whole operation upon his hand by the man's direction. I immediately made the experiment in the manner before related, ſetting the Moxa juſt upon the place where

the firſt violence of my pain began, which was the joint of the great toe, and where the greateſt anger and foreneſs ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the ſwelling of my foot, ſo that I had never yet, in five days, been able to ſtir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the firſt burning, I found the ſkin ſhrink all round the place; and whether the greater pain of the fire had taken away the ſenſe of a ſmaller or no, I could not tell, but I thought it leſs than it was. I burnt it the ſecond time, and upon it obſerved the ſkin about it to ſhrink, and the ſwelling to flat yet more than at firſt. I began to move my toe, which I had not done before; but I found ſome remainders of pain. I burnt it the third time, and obſerved ſtill the ſame effects without, but a much greater within; for I ſtirred the joint ſeveral times at eaſe; and growing bolder, I ſet my foot to the ground without any pain at all. After this, I purſued the method preſcribed by the book, and the author's ſon at Utrecht, and had a bruiſed clove of garlic laid to the place that was burnt, and covered with a large plaiſter of diapalma, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more pain, and treading ſtill bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a ſlipper to let in my foot, ſwelled as it was, and walked half a dozen turns about the room without any pain or trouble, and much to the ſurprize of thoſe that were about me, as well as to my own. For, though I had reaſoned myſelf before hand into an opinion of the thing, yet I could not expect ſuch an effect as I found, which ſeldom reaches to the degree that is promiſed by the preſcribers of any remedies, whereas this went beyond it, having been applied ſo late, and the preſcription reaching only to the firſt attack of the pain, and before the part begins to ſwell.

For the pain of the burning itſelf, the firſt time, it is ſharp, ſo that a man may be allowed to complain; I re-

I reſolved I would not, but that I would count to a certain number, as the beſt meaſure how long it laſted. I told ſixſcore and four, as faſt as I could; and when the fire of the Moxa was out, all pain of burning was over. The ſecond time was not near ſo ſharp as the firſt, and the third a great deal leſs than the ſecond. The wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked only ſcorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole trouble of the operation, than half a quarter of an hour's pain in the degree I felt it the firſt whole night.

After four-and-twenty hours I had it opened, and found a great bliſter drawn by the garlic, which I uſed no more, but had the bliſter cut, which run a good deal of water, but filled again by the next night; and this continued for three days, with only a plaiſter of diapalma upon it; after which time the bliſter dried up, and left a ſore about as big as a two-pence, which healed and went away in about a week's time longer; but I continued to walk every day, and without the leaſt return of pain, the ſwelling ſtill growing leſs, though it were near ſix weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common opinion that walking too much might draw down the humour; which I have ſince had reaſon to conclude a great miſtake, and that, if I had walked as much as I could from the firſt day the pain left me, the ſwelling might have left me too in a much leſs time.

The talk of this cure run about the Hague, and made the converſation in other places, as well as in the viſits I received while I kept my chamber, which was about a fortnight after the burning. Monſieur Zulichem came to me among the reſt of the good company of the town, and much pleaſed with my ſucceſs, as well from his own great humanity and particular kindneſs to me, as from the part he had in being the

firſt preſcriber of my cure, and from the opinion it gave him of a common good fortune befallen all that felt or were in danger of the gout.

Among others he told it to, monſieur Serinchamps was one, an envoy of the duke of Lorrain's, then in town, a perſon very much and very deſervedly eſteemed among all the good company in town, and to whom every body was kind upon the ſcore of his own good humour, or his maſter's ill fortunes: he had been long ſubject to the gout, and with conſtant returns of long and violent fits two or three times in a year. He was a man frank and generous, and loved to enjoy health whilſt he had it, without making too much reflection upon what was to follow; and ſo, when he was well, denied himſelf nothing of what he had a mind to eat or drink; which gave him a body full of humours, and made his fits of the gout as frequent and violent as moſt I have known: when they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as ſoon as they were paſt, till a new remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel fit, which was fallen upon his knee, and with extreme pain. When he heard of my cure, he ſent to me firſt for the relation of it; and upon it, for my Moxa, and for Coleby to apply it. He ſuffered it; but after his pleaſant way roared out, and ſwore at me all the while it was burning, and aſked if I took him for a ſorcerer, that I ſent to burn him alive? yet, with all this, the pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the ſame place; but he was ſomething diſcouraged by a new pain falling ſome days after upon his elbow on the other ſide, which gave him a new fit, though gentler and ſhorter than they uſed to be.

About the ſame time one of the maids of my houſe was grown almoſt deſperate with the tooth-ach, and want of ſleep upon it, and was without remedy. The book gives the ſame cure for certain in that illneſs, by burning

burning upon the great vein under the ear; and the man who ſold it at Utrecht had aſſured Coleby he had ſeen many cures by it in that kind. We reſolved to try, which was done, and the pain immediately taken away, and the wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at leaſt while ſhe was in my houſe.

Thus paſſed the firſt experiment; upon which monſieur Zulichem, giving an account of it to ſome of his friends at Greſham college, came to me before I left the Hague, formally to deſire me from them, and from himſelf, that I would give a relation of it that might be made public, as a thing which might prove in appearance of common utility to ſo great numbers as were ſubject to that diſeaſe; and told me, that ſome of Greſham college had already given order for tranſlating into Engliſh the little Batavian treatiſe. I commended the care of publiſhing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an experiment I had reaſon to approve; but excuſed myſelf from any relation of my own, as having too much buſineſs at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in public. I had another reaſon to decline it, that ever uſed to go far with me upon all new inventions or experiments, which is, that the beſt trial of them is by time, and obſerving whether they live or no; and that one or two trials can pretend to make no rule, no more than one ſwallow a ſummer; and ſo before I told my ſtory to more than my friends, I had a mind to make more trials myſelf, or ſee them made by other people as wiſe as I had been.

During the confinement of this fit, I fell into ſome methods, and into much diſcourſe upon the ſubject of the gout, that may be perhaps as well worth reflection by ſuch as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this Indian cure. In the firſt place, from the day I kept my chamber, till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I reſtrained myſelf to ſo regular a diet, as to

eat fleſh but once a day, and little at a time, without ſalt or vinegar; and to one moderate draught either of water or ſmall ale. I concluded to truſt to abſtinence and exerciſe, as I had ever reſolved, if I fell into this diſeaſe; and if it continued, to confine myſelf wholly to the milk diet, of which I had met with very many and great examples, and had a great opinion even in long and inveterate gouts. Beſides this refuge I met with, in my viſits and converſation ariſing upon my illneſs, many notions or medicines very new to me, and reflections that may be ſo perhaps to other men. Old Prince Maurice of Naſſau told me he laughed at the gout, and though he had been ſeveral times attacked, yet it never gave him care nor trouble; that he uſed but one remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boil a good quantity of horſe-dung from a ſtone-horſe of the Hermelinne colour, as he called it in French, which is a native white, with a ſort of a raw noſe, and the ſame commonly about the eyes; that when this was well boiled in water, he ſet his leg in a pailfull of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool, for above an hour together; that after it, he drew his leg immediately into a warm bed, to continue the perſpiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the remedy be good, or the circumſtances of colour ſignify any thing more than to make more myſtery, I know not; but I obſerved, that he ever had a ſet of ſuch Hermelinne horſes in his coach, which he told me was on purpoſe that he might never want this remedy.

The count Kinſki, ambaſſador from the emperor to the treaty at Nimeguen, gave me a receipt of the ſalt of harts-horn, by which a famous Italian phyſician of the emperor's had performed mighty cures upon many others as well as himſelf, and the laſt year upon the count Montecuculi: the uſe of this I am apt to eſteem,

eſteem, both from the quality given it of provoking ſweat extremely, and of taking away all ſharpneſs from whatever you put it in; which muſt both be of good effect in the cure of the gout.

The rhyngrave, who was killed laſt ſummer before Maeſtricht, told me his father the old rhyngrave, whom I knew very well, had been long ſubject to the gout, and never uſed other method or remedy than, upon the very firſt fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the weather was, and as long as he was able to ſtand, and preſſing ſtill moſt upon the foot that threatened him; when he came home he went to a warm bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the place were the pain begun. If it continued, or returned next day, he repeated the ſame courſe, and was never laid up with it; and before his death recommended this courſe to his ſon, if he ſhould ever fall into that accident.

A Dutchman, who had been long in the Eaſt-Indies, told me, in one part of them, where he had lived ſome time, the general remedy of all that were ſubject to the gout was rubbing with hands; and that whoever had ſlaves enough to do that conſtantly every day, and relieve one another by turns, till the motion raiſed a violent heat about the joints where it was chiefly uſed, was never troubled much, or laid up by that diſeaſe.

My youngeſt brother told me he had a keeper very ſubject to it, but that it never laid him up, but he was ſtill walking after his deer, or his ſtud, while he had the fits upon him as at other times, and often from morning to night, though in pain all the while. This he gave me as one inſtance, that poor and toiling men have ſometimes the gout, and that many more may have it, who take no more notice of it than his keeper did; who yet he confeſſed uſed to bring the fits of gout upon him by fits of drinking, which no doubt

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is a receipt that will hardly fail, if men grow old in the cuſtom.

Monſieur Serinchamps told me, a Lorrian ſurgeon had undertaken to cure it by a more extraordinary way than any of theſe, which was by whipping the naked part with a great rod of nettles till it grew all over bliſtered; and that he had once perſuaded him to perform this penance in a ſharp fit he had, and the pain in his knee ſo violent, as helped him to endure this remedy. He ſaid it was cruel; that all where he was whipped grew ſo angry, and ſwelled as well as bliſtered, that he thought it had given him a fever that night. The next morning the part was all as ſtiff as a boot, and the ſkin like parchment; but that, keeping it anointed with a certain oil likewiſe of nettles, it paſt in two days, and the gout too, without feeling any more pain that fit.

All theſe things put together, with what a great phyſician writes of cures by whipping with rods, and another with holly, and by other cruelties of cutting or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the gout was a companion that ought to be treated like an enemy, and by no means like a friend, and that grew troubleſome chiefly by good uſage; and this was confirmed to me by conſidering that it haunted uſually the eaſy and the rich, the nice and the lazy, who grow to endure much, becauſe they can endure little; that make much of it as ſoon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themſelves too; that take care to carry it preſently to bed, and keep it ſafe and warm, and indeed lay up the gout for two or three months, while they give out, that the gout lays up them. On the other ſide, it hardly approaches the rough and the poor, ſuch as labour for meat, and eat only for hunger; that drink water, either pure, or but diſcoloured with malt; that know no uſe of wine, but for a cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: or if

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ſuch men happen by their native conſtitutions to fall into the gout, either they mind it not at all, having no leiſure to be ſick; or they uſe it like a dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before; they keep it wet and cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps forced by that to faſt more than before, and if it laſts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while perhaps never know the very name of the gout.

But to follow my experiment: I paſſed that ſummer here at Nimeguen without the leaſt remembrance of what had happened to me in the ſpring, till about the end of September, and then began to feel a pain that I knew not what to make of, in the ſame joint, but of my other foot: I had flattered myſelf with hopes, that the vapour had been exhaled, as my learned authors had taught me, and that thereby the buſineſs had been ended; this made me neglect my Moxa for two days, the pain not being violent, till at laſt my foot began to ſwell, and I could ſet it no longer to the ground; then I fell to my Moxa again, and burnt it four times before the pain went clear away, as it did upon the laſt, and I walked at eaſe, as I had done the firſt time, and within ſix days after about a league, without the leaſt return of any pain.

I continued well till this ſpring, when about the end of March feeling again the ſame pain, and in the ſame joint, but of the firſt foot, and finding it grow violent, I immediately burnt it, and felt no more after the third time; was never off my legs, nor kept my chamber a day. Upon both theſe laſt experiments I omitted the application of garlic, and contented myſelf with a plaiſter only of diapalma upon the place that was burnt, which cruſted and healed in very few days, and without any trouble. I have ſince continued perfectly well to this preſent June; and with ſo much confidence of the cure, that I have been con-

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tent to trouble myſelf ſome hours with telling the ſtory, which it is poſſible, may at one time or other be thought worth making public, if I am further confirmed by more time and experiments of my own, or of others. And thereby I may not only ſatisfy monſieur Zulichem, but myſelf too, who ſhould be ſorry to omit any good I thought I could do to other men, though never ſo unknown.

But this cure, I ſuppoſe, cannot pretend to deal with inveterate gouts, grown habitual by long and frequent returns, by diſpoſitions of the ſtomach to convert even the beſt nouriſhment into thoſe humours, and the veſſels to receive them. For ſuch conſtitutions, by all I have diſcovered, or conſidered upon this ſubject, the remedies (if any) are to be propoſed either from a conſtant courſe of the milken diet, continued at leaſt for a year together, or elſe from ſome of thoſe methods commonly uſed in the cure of a worſe diſeaſe (if at leaſt I may be bold with one that is ſo much in vogue); the uſual exceptions to the firſt are not only ſo long a conſtraint but the weakneſs of ſpirits whilſt it continues, and the danger of fevers whenever it is left off. There may, I believe, be ſome care neceſſary in this laſt point upon ſo great a change; but for the other, I have met with no complaints among thoſe that have uſed it; and count Egmont, who has done ſo more, I believe, than any other man, has told me, he never found himſelf in ſo much vigour, as in the midſt of that courſe. I have known ſo many great examples of this cure, and heard of its being ſo familiar in Auſtria, that I wonder it has gained no more ground in other places, and am apt to conclude from it, that the loſs of pain is generally thought to be purchaſed too dear by the loſs of pleaſure.

For the other, I met with a phyſician, whom I eſteemed a man of truth, that told me of ſeveral great

cures

cures of the gout by a courſe of guaiacum, and of two patients of his own that had gone ſo far as to be fluxed for it, and with ſucceſs. And indeed there ſeems nothing ſo proper, as what pretends to change the whole maſs of the blood, or elſe a long courſe of violent perſpiration: but the miſchief is, that the gout is commonly the diſeaſe of aged men, who cannot go through with theſe ſtrong remedies, which young men play with upon other occaſions; and the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, why theſe ways are ſo little practiſed, is becauſe it happens ſo ſeldom that young men have the gout.

Let the diſeaſe be new or old, and the remedies either of common or foreign growth, there is one ingredient of abſolute neceſſity in all caſes: for whoever thinks of curing the gout, without great temperance, had better reſolve to endure it with patience; and I know not whether ſome deſperate degrees of abſtinence would not have the ſame effect upon other men, as they had upon Atticus, who, weary of his life as well as his phyſicians, by long and cruel pains of a dropſical gout, and deſpairing of any cure, reſolved by degrees to ſtarve himſelf to death; and went ſo far, that the phyſicians found he had ended his diſeaſe inſtead of his life, and told him, that to be well, there would need nothing but only reſolve to live. His anſwer was noble; that ſince dying was a thing to be done, and he was now ſo far on his way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was ſaid and done, and could indeed have been ſo by none but ſuch a man as Atticus, who was ſingular in his life, as well as his death, and has been ever, I confeſs, by me as much eſteemed in both, as any of thoſe that have made greater figures upon the buſy ſcenes of their own times, and ſince in records of ſtory and of fame.

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But perhaps ſome ſuch methods might ſucceed with others upon the deſigns to live, as they did with him upon thoſe to die; and though ſuch degrees may be too deſperate, yet none of temperance can, I think, be too great for thoſe that pretend the cure of inveterate gouts, or indeed of moſt other diſeaſes to which mankind is expoſed, rather by the viciouſneſs, than by the frailty of their natures. Temperance, that virtue without pride, and fortune without envy, that gives indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind; the beſt guardian of youth, and ſupport of old age; the precept of reaſon as well as religion; and phyſician of the ſoul, as well as the body; the tutelar goddeſs of health, and univerſal medicine of life, that clears the head, and cleanſes the blood, that eaſes the ſtomach, and purges the bowels, that ſtrengthens the nerves, enlightens the eyes, and comforts the heart; in a word, that ſecures and perfects the digeſtion, and thereby avoids the fumes and winds to which we owe the colic and the ſpleen; thoſe crudities and ſharp humours that feed the ſcurvy and the gout, and thoſe ſlimy dregs, out of which the gravel and ſtone are formed within us; diſeaſes by which we often condemn ourſelves to greater torments and miſeries of life, than have perhaps been yet invented by anger or revenge, or inflicted by the greateſt tyrants upon the worſt of men.

I do not allow the pretence of temperance to all ſuch as are ſeldom or never drunk, or fall into ſurfeits; for men may loſe their heath without loſing their ſenſes, and be intemperate every day, without being drunk perhaps once in their lives; nay, for aught I know, if a man ſhould paſs the month in a college-diet, without exceſs or variety of meats or of drinks, but only the laſt day give a looſe in them both, and ſo far till it comes to ſerve him for phyſic rather than food, and he utter his ſtomach as well as his heart, he may perhaps,

haps, as to the mere conſiderations of health, do much better than another that eats every day, but as men do generally in England, who pretend to live well in court or in town; that is, in plenty and luxury, with great variety of meats, and a dozen glaſſes of wine at a meal, ſtill ſpurring up appetite when it would lie down of itſelf; fluſhed every day, but never drunk; and, with the help of doſing three hours after dinner, as ſober and wiſe as they were before.

But that which I call temperance, and reckon ſo neceſſary in all attempts and methods of curing the gout, is a regular and ſimple diet, limited by every man's experience of his own eaſy digeſtion, and thereby proportioning, as near as well can be, the daily repairs to the daily decays of our waſting bodies. Nor can this be determined by meaſures and weights, or any general Leſſian rules; but muſt vary with the vigour or decays of age, or of health, and the uſe or diſuſe of air, or of exerciſe, with the changes of appetite; and thereby what every man may find or ſuſpect of the preſent ſtrength or weakneſs of digeſtion: and in caſe of exceſſes, I take the German proverbial cure, by a hair of the ſame beaſt, to be the worſt in the world; and the beſt to be, that which is called the monks diet, to eat till you are ſick, and faſt till you are well again. In all courſes of the gout, the moſt effectual point I take to be abſtinence from wine, further than as a cordial, where faintneſs or want of ſpirits require it; and the uſe of water where the ſtomach will bear it, as I believe moſt men's will, and with great advantage of digeſtion, unleſs they are ſpoiled with long and conſtant uſe of wines or other ſtrong drinks; in that caſe they muſt be weaned, and the habit changed by degrees, and with time, for fear of falling into conſumptions, inſtead of recovering dropſies or gouts. But the wines uſed by thoſe that feel or fear this diſeaſe, or purſue the cure, ſhould rather be

× Leonardus Leſſius a learned Flemiſh Jeſuit was ſo well pleaſed with Cornaro's method of living, that he tranſlated his treatiſe of Temperance into Latin, & lived in the ſame manner himſelf with the greateſt benefit & compoſed a treatiſe upon that ſubject which he demonſtrates by the ſeveral Examples of a Temperate life. Tillotſ. p. 132.

be Spaniſh or Portugal, than either French or Rheniſh, and of the French, rather the Provence or Languedoc, than the Bourdeaux or Campagne; and of the Rheniſh, the Rhingaw and Bleker, of which at leaſt it may be ſaid that they do not ſo much harm as the others.

But I have known ſo great cures, and ſo many, done by obſtinate reſolutions of drinking no wine at all, that I put more weight upon the part of temperance than any other. And I doubt very much, whether the great increaſe of that diſeaſe in England, within theſe twenty years, may not have been occaſioned by the cuſtom of ſo much wine introduced into our conſtant and common tables: for this uſe may be more pernicious to health than that of taverns and debauches, according to the old ſtile, which were but by fits, and upon ſet or caſual encounters. I have ſometimes thought that this cuſtom of uſing wine, of our common drink, may alter, in time, the very conſtitution of our nation, I mean the native tempers of our bodies and minds, and cauſe a heat and ſharpneſs in our humours, which is not natural to our climate. Our having been denied it by nature, is argument enough that it was never intended us for common uſe; nor do I believe it was in any other countries, there being ſo ſmall a part of the world where it grows; and where it does, the uſe of it pure being ſo little practiſed, and in ſome places defended by cuſtoms or laws. So the Turks have not known it unleſs of late years; and I have met with many Spaniards that never taſted it pure in their lives; nor in the time when I was in France, did I obſerve any I converſed with to drink it unmixed at meals. The true uſe of wine is either as I mentioned, for a cordial; and I believe there is not a better to ſuch as drink it ſeldom; or elſe what the mother of Lemuel tells her ſon, "Give ſtrong drink to him that is ready to periſh, and wine to thoſe that are heavy of heart; let him drink and forget his poverty,

poverty, and remember his misery no more." At least it ought to be reserved for the times and occasions of feast and of joy, and be treated like a mistress rather than a wife, without abandoning either our wits to our humours, or our healths to our pleasure, or that of one sense to those of all the rest, which I doubt it impairs. This philosophy, I suppose, may pass with the youngest and most sensual men, while they pretend to be reasonable; but, whenever they have a mind to be otherwise, the best way they can take is to drink or to sleep, and either of them will serve the turn.

OF

HEALTH

AND

LONG LIFE.

I CAN truly ſay, that of all the paper I have blotted, which has been a great deal in my time, I have never written any thing for the public without the intention of ſome public good. Whether I have ſucceeded, or no, is not my part to judge; and others, in what they tell me, may deceive either me or themſelves. Good intentions are at leaſt the ſeed of good actions; and every man ought to ſow them, and leave it to the ſoil and the ſeaſons whether they come up or no, and whether he or any other gather the fruit.

I have choſen thoſe ſubjects of theſe eſſays, wherein I take human life to be moſt concerned, and which are of moſt common uſe, or moſt neceſſary knowledge; and wherein, though I may not be able to inform men more than they know, yet I may perhaps give them the occaſion to conſider more than they do.

This

This is a ſort of inſtruction that no man can diſlike, ſince it comes from himſelf, and is made without envy or fear, conſtraint or obligation, which make us commonly diſlike what is taught us by others. All men would be glad to be their own maſters, and ſhould not be ſorry to be their own ſcholars, when they pay no more for their learning than their own thoughts, which they have commonly more ſtore of about them than they know what to do with, and which, if they do not apply to ſomething of good uſe, nor employ about ſomething of ill, they will trifle away upon ſomething vain or impertinent: their thoughts will be but waking dreams, as their dreams are ſleeping thoughts. Yet, of all ſorts of inſtructions, the beſt is gained from our own thoughts as well as experience; for, though a man may grow learned by other men's thoughts, yet he will grow wiſe or happy only by his own; the uſe of other men's towards theſe ends is but to ſerve for one's own reflexions; otherwiſe they are but like meat ſwallowed down for pleaſure or greedineſs, which only charges the ſtomach, or fumes into the brain, if it be not well digeſted, and thereby turned into the very maſs or ſubſtance of the body that receives it.

Some writers, in caſting up the goods moſt deſirable in life, have given them this rank, health, beauty, and riches. Of the firſt I find no diſpute, but to the two others much may be ſaid: for beauty is a good that makes others happy rather than one's ſelf; and how riches ſhould claim ſo high a rank, I cannot tell, when ſo great, ſo wiſe, and ſo good a part of mankind have in all ages preferred poverty before them. The Therapeutæ and Ebionites among the Jews, the primitive monks and modern friers among chriſtians, ſo many derviſes among the Mahometans, the Brachmans among the Indians, and all the ancient philoſophers, who, whatever elſe they differed in, agreed in this of deſpiſing riches, and at beſt eſteeming them

an unneceſſary trouble or incumbrance of life: ſo that whether they are to be reckoned among goods or evils is yet left in doubt.

When I was young and in ſome idle company, it was propoſed that every one ſhould tell what their three wiſhes ſhould be, if they were ſure to be granted; ſome were very pleaſant, and ſome very extravagant; mine were health, and peace, and fair weather; which, though out of the way among young men, yet perhaps might paſs well enough among old: they are all of a ſtrain, for health in the body is like peace in the ſtate and ſerenity in the air: the ſun, in our climate at leaſt, has ſomething ſo reviving, that a fair day is a kind of a ſenſual pleaſure, and of all others the moſt innocent.

Peace is a public bleſſing, without which no man is ſafe in his fortunes, his liberty, or his life: neither innocence or laws are a guard of defence; no poſſeſſions are enjoyed but in danger or fear, which equally loſe the pleaſure and eaſe of all that fortune can give us. Health is the ſoul that animates all enjoyments of life, which fade and are taſteleſs, if not dead, without it; a man ſtarves at the beſt and the greateſt tables, makes faces at the nobleſt and moſt delicate wines, is old and impotent in ſeraglios of the moſt ſparkling beauties, poor and wretched in the midſt of the greateſt treaſures and fortune: with common diſeaſes ſtrength grows decrepit, youth loſes all vigour, and beauty all charms; muſic grows harſh, and converſation diſagreeable; palaces are priſons, or of equal confinement; riches are uſeleſs, honour and attendance are cumberſome, and crowns themſelves are a burden: but, if diſeaſes are painful and violent, they equal all conditions of life, make no difference between a prince and a beggar; and a fit of the ſtone or the colic puts a king to the rack, and makes him as miſerable as he can do the meaneſt, the worſt, and moſt criminal of his ſubjects.

To

To know that the paſſions or diſtempers of the mind make our lives unhappy, in ſpite of all accidents and favours of fortune, a man perhaps muſt be a philoſopher; and requires much thought, and ſtudy, and deep reflexions. To be a ſtoic, and grow inſenſible of pain, as well as poverty or diſgrace, one muſt be perhaps ſomething more or leſs than a man, renounce common nature, oppoſe common truth and conſtant experience. But their needs little learning or ſtudy, more than common thought and obſervation, to find out, that ill health loſes not only the enjoyments of fortune, but the pleaſures of ſenſe, and even of imagination, and hinders the common operations both of body and mind from being eaſy and free. Let philoſophers reaſon and differ about the chief good or happineſs of man; let them find it where they can, and place it where they pleaſe; but there is no miſtake ſo groſs, or opinion ſo impertinent (how common ſoever) as to think pleaſures ariſe from what is without us, rather than from what is within; from the impreſſion given us of objects, rather than from the diſpoſition of the organs that receive them. The various effects of the ſame objects upon different perſons, or upon the ſame perſons at different times, make the contrary moſt evident. Some diſtempers make things look yellow, others double what we ſee; the commoneſt alter our taſtes and our ſmells, and the very foulneſs of ears changes ſounds. The difference of tempers, as well as of age, may have the ſame effect, by the many degrees of perfection or imperfection in our original tempers, as well as of ſtrength or decay, from the differences of health and of years. From all which it is eaſy, without being a great naturaliſt, to conclude, that our perceptions are formed, and our imaginations raiſed upon them, in a very great meaſure, by the diſpoſitions of the organs through which the ſeveral objects make their impreſſions; and that theſe vary according to the

different frame and temper of the others; as the ſound of the ſame breath paſſing through an oaten pipe, a flyte, or a trumpet.

But to leave philoſophy, and return to health. Whatever is true in point of happineſs depending upon the temper of the mind, it is certain that pleaſures depend upon the temper of the body; and that, to enjoy them, a man muſt be well himſelf, as the veſſel muſt be ſound to have your wine ſweet; for otherwiſe, let it be never ſo pleaſant and ſo generous, it loſes the taſte; and pour in never ſo much, it all turns ſour, and were better let alone. Whoever will eat well, muſt have a ſtomach; who will reliſh the pleaſure of drinks, muſt have his mouth in taſte; who will enjoy a beautiful woman, muſt be in vigour himſelf; nay, to find any felicity, or take any pleaſure in the greateſt advantages of honour and fortune, a man muſt be in health. Who would not be covetous, and with reaſon, if this could be purchaſed with gold? who not ambitious, if it were at the command of power, or reſtored by honour? But alas! a white ſtaff will not help gouty feet to walk better than a common cane; nor a blue ribband bind up a wound ſo well as a fillet: the glitter of gold or of diamonds will but hurt ſore eyes, inſtead of curing them; and an aking head will be no more eaſed by wearing a crown than a common night-cap.

If health be ſuch a bleſſing, and the very ſource of all pleaſure, it may be worth the pains to diſcover the regions where it grows, the ſprings that feed it, the cuſtoms and methods by which it is beſt cultivated and preſerved. Towards this end, it will be neceſſary to conſider the examples or inſtances we meet with of health and long life, which is the conſequence of it, and to obſerve the places, the cuſtoms, and the conditions of thoſe who enjoyed them in any degree extra-

ordinary;

ordinary; from whence we may beſt gueſs at the cauſes, and make the trueſt concluſions.

Of what paſſed before the flood, we know little from Scripture itſelf, beſides the length of their lives; ſo as I ſhall only obſerve upon that period of time, that men are thought neither to have eat fleſh nor drunk wine before it ended: for to Noah firſt ſeems to have been given the liberty of feeding upon living creatures, and the prerogative of planting the vine. Since that time we meet with little mention of very long lives in any ſtories either ſacred or prophane, beſides the patriarchs of the Hebrews, the Brachmans among the old Indians, and the Brazilians at the time that country was diſcovered by the Europeans. Many of theſe were ſaid then to have lived two hundred, ſome three hundred years. The ſame terms of life are attributed to the old Brachmans; and how long thoſe of the patriarchs were is recorded in Scripture. Upon all theſe I ſhall obſerve, that the patriarchs abodes were not in cities, but in open countries and fields; that their lives were paſtoral, or employed in ſome ſorts of agriculture; that they were of the ſame race, to which their marriages were generally confined; that their diet was ſimple, as that of the ancients is generally repreſented, among whom fleſh or wine was ſeldom uſed but at ſacrifices or ſolemn feaſts. The Brachmans were all of the ſame races, lived in fields and in woods, after the courſe of their ſtudies were ended, and fed only upon rice, milk, or herbs. The Brazilians, when firſt diſcovered, lived the moſt natural original lives of mankind, ſo frequently deſcribed in ancient countries, before laws, or property, or arts made entrance among them; and ſo their cuſtoms may be concluded to have been yet more ſimple than either of the other two. They lived without buſineſs or labour, further than for their neceſſary food, by gathering fruits, herbs, and plants; they knew no

drink but water; were not tempted to eat nor drink beyond common thirſt or appetite; were not troubled with either public or domeſtic cares, nor knew any pleaſures but the moſt ſimple and natural.

From all theſe examples and cuſtoms it may probably be concluded, that the common ingredients of health and long life (where births are not impaired from the conception by any derived infirmities of the race they come from) are great temperance, open air, eaſy labour, little care, ſimplicity of diet, rather fruits and plants than fleſh, which eaſier corrupts; and water, which preſerves the radical moiſture, without too much increaſing the radical heat: whereas ſickneſs, decay, and death proceed commonly from the one preying too faſt upon the other, and at length wholly extinguiſhing it.

I have ſometimes wondered, that the regions of ſo much health and ſo long lives were all under very hot climates; whereas the more temperate are allowed to produce the ſtrongeſt and moſt vigorous bodies. But weaker conſtitutions may laſt as long as the ſtrong, if better preſerved from accidents; ſo Venice glaſs, as long as an earthen pitcher, if carefully kept; and, for one life that ends by mere decay of nature or age, millions are intercepted by accidents from without or diſeaſes within; by untimely deaths or decays; from the effects of exceſs and luxury, immoderate repletion or exerciſe; the preying of our minds upon our bodies by long paſſions or conſuming cares, as well as thoſe accidents which are called violent. Men are perhaps moſt betrayed to all theſe dangers by great ſtrength and vigour of conſtitution, by more appetite and larger fare in colder climates: in the warm, exceſſes are found more pernicious to health, and ſo more avoided; and, if experience and reflection do not cauſe temperance among them, yet it is forced upon them by the faintneſs of appetite. I can find no

better

better account of a ſtory Sir Francis Bacon tells of a very old man, whoſe cuſtoms and diet he inquired; but he ſaid he obſerved none beſides eating before he was hungry, and drinking before he was dry; for by that rule he was ſure never to eat nor drink much at a time. Beſides, the warmth of air keeps the pores open, and by continual perſpiration breathes out thoſe humours which breed moſt diſeaſes, if in cooler climates it be not helped by exerciſe. And this I take to be the reaſon of our Engliſh conſtitutions finding ſo much benefit by the air of Montpelier, eſpecially in long colds or conſumptions, or rather lingering diſeaſes; though I have known ſome who attributed the reſtoring of their health there as much to the fruits as the air of that place.

I know not whether there may be any thing in the climate of Brazil more propitious to health than in other countries; for, beſides what was obſerved among the natives upon the firſt European diſcoveries, I remember don Franciſco de Melo, a Portugal ambaſſador in England, told me, it was frequent in his country for men ſpent with age or other decays, ſo as they could not hope for above a year or two of life, to ſhip themſelves away in a Brazil fleet, and after their arrival there to go on a great length, ſometime of twenty or thirty years, or more, by the force of that vigour they recovered with that remove. Whether ſuch an effect might grow from the air, or the fruits of that climate, or by approaching nearer the ſun, which is the fountain of life and heat, when their natural heat was ſo far decayed; or whether the piecing out of an old man's life were worth the pains, I cannot tell; perhaps the play is not worth the candle.

I do not remember, either in ſtory or modern obſervation, any examples of long life common to any parts of Europe, which the temper of the climate has probably made the ſcene of luxury and exceſſes in diet.

Greece

Greece and Rome were of old celebrated, or rather defamed, for thoſe cuſtoms, when they were not known in Aſia nor Afric; and how guilty our colder climates are in this point, beyond the warmer of Spain and Italy, is but too well known. It is common among Spaniards of the beſt quality, not to have taſted pure wine at forty years old. It is an honour to their laws, that a man loſes his teſtimony who can be proved once to have been drunk; and I never was more pleaſed with any reply than that of a Spaniard, who having been aſked whether he had a good dinner at a friend's houſe, ſaid, Si ſennor a via ſabrado; Yes, Sir, for there was ſomething left. The great trade in Italy, and reſort of ſtrangers, eſpecially of Germans, has made the uſe of wine ſomething more frequent there, though not much among the perſons of rank, who are obſerved to live longer at Rome and Madrid than in any other towns of Europe, where the qualities of the air force them upon the greateſt temperance, as well as care and precaution. We read of many kings very long-lived in Spain; one I remember that reigned above ſeventy years. But Philip de Comines obſerves, that none in France had lived to threeſcore from Charlemain's time to that of Lewis XI. whereas in England, from the conqueſt to the end of queen Elizabeth (which is a much ſhorter period of time) there have reigned five kings and one queen, whereof two lived ſixty-five years, two ſixty-eight, and two reached at leaſt the ſeventieth year of their age. I wondered upon this ſubject when monſieur Pompone, French ambaſſador in my time at the Hague, a perſon of great worth and learning as well as obſervation, told me there, that in his life he had never heard of any man in France that arrived at a hundred years; and I could imagine no reaſon for it, unleſs it be that the excellence of their climate, ſubject neither to much cold nor heat, gave them ſuch a livelineſs of temper and humour,

humour, as diſpoſed them to more pleaſures of all kinds than in any other countries. And, I doubt, pleaſures too long continued, or rather too frequently repeated, may ſpend the ſpirits, and thereby life too faſt, to leave it very long; like blowing a fire too often, which makes it indeed burn the better, but laſt the leſs. For as pleaſures periſh themſelves in the uſing, like flowers that fade with gathering; ſo it is neither natural nor ſafe to continue them long, to renew them without appetite, or ever to provoke them by arts or imagination where nature does not call, who can beſt tell us when and how much we need, or what is good for us, if we were ſo wiſe as to conſult her. But a ſhort life and a merry carries it, and is without doubt better than a long with ſorrow or pain.

For the honour of our climate it has been obſerved by ancient authors, that the Britons were longer-lived than any other nation to them known. And in modern times there have been more and greater examples of this kind than in any other countries of Europe. The ſtory of old Parr is too late to be forgotten by many now alive, who was brought out of Derbyſhire to the court in king Charles I.'s time, and lived to a hundred and fifty-three years old; and might have, as was thought, gone further, if the change of country air and diet for that of the town had not carried him off, perhaps untimely at that very age. The late Robert earl of Leiceſter, who was a perſon of great learning and obſervation as well as of truth, told me ſeveral ſtories very extraordinary upon this ſubject; one, of a counteſs of Deſmond, married out of England in Edward IV.'s time, and who lived far in king James's reign, and was counted to have died ſome years above a hundred and forty; at which age ſhe came from Briſtol to London to beg ſome relief at court, having long been very poor by the ruin of that Iriſh family into which ſhe was married.

Another

Another he told me was of a beggar at a book-ſeller's ſhop, where he was ſome weeks after the death of prince Henry; and obſerving thoſe that paſſed by, he was ſaying to his company, that never ſuch a mourning had been ſeen in England: this beggar ſaid, No, never ſince the death of prince Arthur. My lord Leiceſter, ſurprized, aſked what ſhe meant, and whether ſhe remembered it; ſhe ſaid, very well: and upon his more curious inquiry told him that her name was Rainsford, of a good family in Oxfordſhire; that, when ſhe was about twenty years old, upon the falſeneſs of a lover, ſhe fell diſtracted; how long ſhe had been ſo, nor what paſſed in that time, ſhe knew not; that, when ſhe was thought well enough to go abroad, ſhe was fain to beg for her living; that ſhe was ſome time at this trade before ſhe recovered any memory of what ſhe had been, or where bred; that, when this memory returned, ſhe went down into her country, but hardly found the memory of any of her friends ſhe had left there; and ſo returned to a pariſh in Southwark, where ſhe had ſome ſmall allowance among other poor, and had been for many years; and once a week walked into the city, and took what alms were given her. My lord Leiceſter told me, he ſent to inquire at the pariſh, and found their account agree with the woman's; upon which he ordered her to call at his houſe once a week, which ſhe did for ſome time; after which he heard no more of her. This ſtory raiſed ſome diſcourſe upon a remark of ſome in the company, that mad people are apt to live long: they alledged examples of their own knowledge; but the reſult was, that, if it were true, it muſt proceed from the natural vigour of their tempers, which diſpoſed them to paſſions ſo violent as ended in frenzies, and from the great abſtinence and hardſhips of diet they are forced upon by the methods of their cure, and ſeverity of thoſe who had

them in care, no other drink but water being allowed them, and very little meat.

The laſt ſtory I ſhall mention from that noble perſon, upon this ſubject, was of a morrice-dance in Herefordſhire; whereof, he ſaid, he had a pamphlet ſtill in his library, written by a very ingenious gentleman of that county, and which gave an account how ſuch a year of king James's reign there went about the country a ſet of morrice-dancers, compoſed of ten men who danced, a maid Marian, and a tabor and pipe: and how theſe twelve, one with another, made up twelve hundred years. It is not ſo much that ſo many, in one ſmall county, ſhould live to that age, as that they ſhould be in vigour and in humour to travel and to dance.

I have in my life met with two of above a hundred and twelve; whereof the woman had paſſed her life in ſervice, and the man in common labour, till he grew old, and fell upon the pariſh. But I met with one who had gone a much greater length, which made me more curious in my inquiries: it was an old man who begged uſually at a lonely inn upon the road in Staffordſhire, who told me, he was a hundred twenty-four years old; that he had been a ſoldier in the Cales voyage under the earl of Eſſex, of which he gave me a ſenſible account; that after his return he fell to labour in his own pariſh, which was about a mile from the place where I met him; that he continued to work till a hundred and twelve, when he broke one of his ribs by a fall from a cart, and being thereby diſabled he fell to beg. This agreeing with what the maſter of the houſe told me was reported and believed by all his neighbours, I aſked him what his uſual food was; he ſaid, milk, bread, and cheeſe, and fleſh when it was given him. I aſked him what he uſed to drink; he ſaid, O Sir, we have the beſt water in our pariſh that is in all the neighbourhood: whether

ther he never drank any thing elſe? he ſaid, yes, if any body gave it him, but not otherwiſe: and the hoſt told me, he had got many a pound in his houſe, but never ſpent one penny. I aſked if he had any neighbours as old as he; and he told me, but one, who had been his fellow ſoldier at Cales, and was three years older; but he had been moſt of his time in a good ſervice, and had ſomething to live on now he was old.

I have heard, and very credibly, of many in my life above an hundred years old, brought as witneſſes upon trials of titles, and bounds of land; but I have obſerved moſt of them have been of Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, or Yorkſhire, and none above the rank of common farmers. The oldeſt I ever knew any perſons of quality, or indeed any gentleman, either at home or abroad, was fourſcore and twelve. This, added to all the former recites or obſervations, either of long-lived races or perſons in any age or country, makes it eaſy to conclude, that health and long life are uſually bleſſings of the poor, not of the rich, and the fruits of temperance, rather than of luxury and exceſs. And, indeed, if a rich man does not, in many things, live like a poor, he will certainly be the worſe for his riches: if he does not uſe exerciſe, which is but voluntary labour; if he does not reſtrain appetite by choice, as the other does by neceſſity; if he does not practiſe ſometimes even abſtinence and faſting, which is the laſt extreme of want and poverty; if his cares and his troubles increaſe with his riches, or his paſſions with his pleaſures, he will certainly impair in health, whilſt he improves his fortunes, and loſe more than he gains by the bargain; ſince health is the beſt of all human poſſeſſions, and without which the reſt are not reliſhed or kindly enjoyed.

It is obſervable in ſtory, that the ancient philoſophers lived generally very long, which may be attributed to their great temperance, and their freedom from

from common paſſions, as well as cares of the world. But the friers, in many orders, ſeem to equal them in all theſe, and yet are not obſerved to live long; ſo as ſome other reaſon may be aſſigned: I can give none, unleſs it be the great and conſtant confinement of the laſt, and liberty of the others: I mean not only that of their perſons to their cloiſters (which is not univerſal among them) but their condition of life, ſo tied to rules, and ſo abſolutely ſubject to their ſuperiors commands, beſides, the very confinement of their minds and thoughts to a certain compaſs of notions, ſpeculations, and opinions. The philoſophers took the greateſt liberty that could be; and allowed their thoughts, their ſtudies, and inventions the moſt unconfined range over the whole univerſe. They both began and continued their profeſſion and condition of life at their own choice, as well as their abodes; whereas among the friers, though they may be voluntary at firſt, yet, after their vows made, they grow neceſſary, and thereby conſtrained. Now it is certain, that as nothing damps or depreſſes the ſpirits like great ſubjection or ſlavery, either of body or mind; ſo nothing nouriſhes, revives, and fortifies them like great liberty; which may poſſibly enter among other reaſons, of what has been obſerved about long life being found more in England, than in others of our neighbour countries.

Upon the general and particular ſurveys already made, it may ſeem that the mountainous or barren countries are uſually the ſcenes of health and long life; that they have been found rather in the hills of Paleſtine and Arcadia than in the plains of Babylon or of Theſſaly; and among us in England, rather upon the peak of Derſbyſhire, and the heaths of Staffordſhire, than the fertile ſoils of other counties that abound more in people and in riches. Whether this proceeds from the air being clearer of groſs and damp exhalations, or from the meaner condition, and thereby harder

harder fare and more ſimple diet, or from the ſtronger nouriſhment of thoſe grains and roots which grow in dry ſoils, I will not determine; but think it is evident from common experience, that the natives and inhabitants of hilly and barren countries have not only more health in general, but alſo more vigour, than thoſe of the plains, or fertile ſoils, and uſually exceed them even in ſize and ſtature. So the largeſt bodies of men that are found in theſe parts of Europe are the Switzers, the highlanders of Scotland, and the northern Iriſh. I remember king Charles the ſecond (a prince of much and various knowledge, and curious obſervation) upon this ſubject, falling in diſcourſe, aſked me, what could be the reaſon, that in moutainous countries the men were commonly larger, and yet the cattle of all ſorts ſmaller, than in others? I could think of none, unleſs it were, that appetite being more in both, from the air of ſuch places, it happened, that by the care of parents, in the education of children, theſe ſeldom wanted food of ſome ſort or other, enough to ſupply nature, and ſatisfy appetite, during the age of their growth, which muſt be the greater, by the ſharpneſs of hunger, and ſtrength of digeſtion in drier airs: for milk, roots and oats abound in ſuch countries, though there may be ſcarcity of other food or grain. But the cattle, from the ſhortneſs of paſture and of fodder, have hardly enough to feed in ſummer; and very often want, in winter, even neceſſary food for ſuſtenance of life; many are ſtarved, and the reſt ſtunted in their growth, which, after a certain age, never advances. Whether this be a good reaſon, or a better may be found, I believe one part of it will not be conteſted by any man that tries, which is, that the open dry air of hilly countries gives more ſtomach than that of plains and vallies, in which cities are commonly built for the convenience of water, of trade, and the plenty of fruits and grains produced by the earth, with much greater

greater increaſe and leſs labour, in ſofter than in harder grounds. The faintneſs of appetite in ſuch places, eſpecially in great cities, makes the many endeavours to relieve and provoke it by art, where nature fails; and this is one great ground of luxury, and ſo many, and various, and extravagant inventions to heighten and improve it; which may ſerve perhaps for ſome refinement in pleaſure, but not at all for any advantages of health or of life: on the contrary, all the great cities, celebrated moſt by the concourſe of mankind, and by the inventions and cuſtoms of the greateſt and moſt delicate luxury, are the ſcenes of the moſt frequent and violent plagues, as well as other diſeaſes. Such are, in our age, Grand Cairo, Conſtantinople, Naples, and Rome; though the exact and conſtant care in this laſt helps them commonly to eſcape better than the others.

This introduces the uſe, and indeed the neceſſity, of phyſic in great towns and very populous countries, which remoter and more barren or deſolate places are ſcarce acquainted with. For, in the courſe of common life, a man muſt either often exerciſe, or faſt, or take phyſic, or be ſick; and the choice ſeems left to every one as he likes. The two firſt are the beſt methods and means of preſerving health: the uſe of phyſic is for reſtoring it, and curing thoſe diſeaſes which are generally cauſed by the want or neglect of the others; but is neither neceſſary, nor perhaps uſeful, for confirming health, or to the length of life, being generally a force upon nature, though the end of it ſeems to be rather aſſiſting nature, than oppoſing it in its courſe.

How ancient, how general the ſtudy or profeſſion of this ſcience has been in the world, and how various the practice, may be worth a little inquiry and obſervation, ſince it ſo nearly concerns our healths and lives. Greece muſt be allowed to have been the mother of this,

as much or more than of other ſciences, moſt whereof are tranſplanted thither from more ancient and more eaſtern nations. But this ſeems to have firſt riſen there, and with good reaſon; for Greece having been the firſt ſcene of luxury we meet with in ſtory, and having thereby occaſioned more diſeaſes, ſeemed to owe the world that juſtice of providing the remedies. Among the more ſimple and original cuſtoms and lives of other nations it entered late, and was introduced by the Grecians. In ancient Babylon, how great and populous ſoever, no phyſicians were known, nor other methods for the cure of diſeaſes, beſides abſtinence, patience, domeſtic care, or, when theſe ſucceeded not, expoſing the patient in the market, to receive the inſtruction of any perſons that paſſed by, and pretended by experience or inquiries to have learned any remedies for ſuch an illneſs. The Perſian emperors ſent into Greece for the phyſicians they needed, upon ſome extremity at firſt, but afterwards kept them reſiding with them. In old Rome they were long unknown; and, after having entered there, and continued for ſome time, they were all baniſhed, and returned not in many years, till their fondneſs of all the Grecian arts and cuſtoms reſtored this, and introduced all the reſt, among them; where they continued in uſe and eſteem during the greatneſs of that empire. With the riſe and progreſs of the fierce northern powers and arms, this, as well as all other learning, was in a manner extinguiſhed in Europe. But, when the Saracen empire grew to ſuch a height in the more eaſtern and ſouthern parts of the world, all arts and ſciences, following the traces of greatneſs and ſecurity in ſtates or governments, began to flouriſh there, and this among the reſt. The Arabians ſeem to have firſt retrieved and reſtored it in the Mahometan dominions; and the Jews in Europe, who were long the chief profeſſors of it in the Gothic kingdoms, having been al-

ways a nation very mercurial, of great genius and application to all ſorts of learning after their diſperſion; till they were diſcouraged by the perſecutions of their religion and their perſons among moſt of the Chriſtian ſtates. In the vaſt territories of India there are few phyſicians, or little eſteemed, beſides ſome European, or elſe of the race either of Jews or Arabs.

Through theſe hands and places, this ſcience has paſſed with greateſt honour and applauſe: among others, it has been leſs uſed or eſteemed.

For the antiquity of it, and original in Greece, we muſt have recourſe to Æſculapius, who lived in the age before the Trojan war, and whoſe ſon Macaon is mentioned to have aſſiſted there; but whether as a phyſician, or a ſurgeon, I do not find: how ſimple the beginnings of this art were may be obſerved by the ſtory or tradition of Æſculapius going about the country with a dog and a ſhe-goat always following; both which he uſed much in his cures; the firſt for licking all ulcerated wounds, and the goat's milk for diſeaſes of the ſtomach and the lungs. We find little more recorded of either his methods or medicines; though he was ſo ſucceſsful by his ſkill, or ſo admired for the novelty of his profeſſion, as to have been honoured with ſtatues, eſteemed ſon of Apollo, and worſhipped as a god.

Whoever was accounted the god of phyſic, the prince of this ſcience muſt be by all, I think, allowed to have been Hippocrates. He flouriſhed in the time of the firſt renowned philoſophers of Greece (the chief of whom was Democritus) and his writings are the moſt ancient of any that remain to poſterity: for thoſe of Democritus and others of that age are all loſt, though many were preſerved till the time of Antoninus Pius, and perhaps ſomething later: and it is probable were ſuppreſſed by the pious zeal of ſome fathers, under the firſt Chriſtian emperor. Thoſe of Hippocrates eſcaped

this fate of his age, by being eſteemed ſo uſeful to human life, as well as the moſt excellent upon all ſubjects he treats. For he was a great philoſopher and naturaliſt before he began the ſtudy of phyſic, to which both theſe are perhaps neceſſary. His rules and methods continued in practice as well as eſteem, without any diſpute, for many ages, till the time of Galen: and I have heard a great phyſician ſay, that his aphoriſms are ſtill the moſt certain and uncontroled of any that ſcience has produced. I will judge but of one, which, in my opinion, has the greateſt race and height both of ſenſe and judgment that I have read in ſo few words, and the beſt expreſſed; "Ars longa, "vita brevis, experientia fallax, occaſio præceps, judi-"cium difficile." By which alone, if no more remained of that admirable perſon, we may eaſily judge how great a genius he was, and how perfectly he underſtood both nature and art.

In the time of Adrian, Galen began to change the practice and methods of phyſic, derived to that age from Hippocrates; and thoſe of his new inſtitution continue generally obſerved to our time. Yet Paracelſus, about two hundred years ago, endeavoured to overthrow the whole ſcheme of Galen, and introduce a new one of his own, as well as the uſe of chymical medicines; and has not wanted his followers and admirers ever ſince, who have, in ſome meaſure, compounded with the Galeniſts, and brought a mixed uſe of chymical medicines into the preſent practice.

Doctor Harvey gave the firſt credit, if not riſe, to the opinion about the circulation of the blood, which was expected to bring in great and general innovations into the whole practice of phyſic; but has had no ſuch effect. Whether the opinion has not had the luck to be ſo well believed as proved; ſenſe and experience having not well agreed with reaſon and ſpeculation;

culation; or whether the ſcheme has not been purſued ſo far, as to draw it into practice; or whether it be too fine to be capable of it, like ſome propoſitions in the mathematics, how true and demonſtrative ſoever, I will not pretend to determine.

Theſe great changes or revolutions in the phyſical empire have given ground to many attacks that have been made againſt it, upon the ſcore of its uncertainty, by ſeveral wiſe and learned men, as well as by many ignorant and malicious. Montaigne has written a great deal, and very ingeniouſly, upon this point; and ſome ſharp Italians: and many phyſicians are too free upon the ſubject, in the converſation of their friends. But as the noble Athenian inſcription told Demetrius, that he was in ſo much a god, as he acknowledged himſelf to be a man; ſo we may ſay of phyſicians, that they are the greater, in ſo much as they know and confeſs the weakneſs of their art. It is certain however, that the ſtudy of phyſic is not atchieved in any eminent degree, without very great advancements in other ſciences: ſo that whatever the profeſſion is, the profeſſors have been generally very much eſteemed upon that account, as well as of their own art, as the moſt learned men of their ages; and thereby ſhared with the two other great profeſſions in thoſe advantages moſt commonly valued, and moſt eagerly perſued; whereof the divines ſeem to have had the moſt honour, the lawyers the moſt money, and the phyſicians the moſt learning. I have known, in my time, at leaſt five or ſix, that, beſides their general learning, were the greateſt wits in the compaſs of my converſation. And whatever can be ſaid of the uncertainty of their art, or diſagreement of its profeſſors, they may, I believe, confidently undertake, that when divines arrive at certainty in their ſchemes of divinity, or lawyers in thoſe of law, or politicians in thoſe of civil government, the phyſicians will

do it likewiſe in the methods and practice of phyſic, and have the honour of finding out the univerſal medicine, at leaſt as ſoon as the chymiſts ſhall the philoſopher's ſtone.

The great defects, in this excellent ſcience, ſeem to me chiefly to have proceeded from the profeſſors application (eſpecially ſince Galen's time) running ſo much upon method, and ſo little upon medicine; and in this to have addicted themſelves ſo much to compoſition, and neglected too much the uſe of ſimples, as well as the inquiries and records of ſpecific remedies.

Upon this occaſion, I have ſometimes wondered why a regiſtry has not been kept in the colleges of phyſicians of all ſuch as have been invented by any profeſſors of every age, found out by ſtudy or by chance, learned by inquiry, and approved by their practice and experience. This would ſupply the want of ſkill and ſtudy: arts would be improved by the experience of many ages, and derived by the ſucceſſion of anceſtors. As many profeſſions are tied to certain races in ſeveral nations, ſo this of phyſic has been in ſome; by which parents were induced to the cares of improving and augmenting their knowledge, as others do their eſtates, becauſe they were to deſcend to their poſterity, and not die with themſelves, as learning does in vulgar hands. How many methods as well as remedies are loſt, for want of this cuſtom, in the courſe of ages! and which perhaps were of greater effect and of more common benefit than thoſe that, ſucceeding in their places, have worn out the memory of the former, either by chance or negligence, or different humours of perſons and times.

Among the Romans there were four things much in uſe, whereof ſome are ſo far out of practice in ours, and other late ages, as to be hardly known any more than by their names; theſe were, bathing, fumiga-

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tion, friction, and jactation. The firſt, though not wholly diſuſed among us, yet is turned out of the ſervice of health to that of pleaſure; but may be of excellent effect in both: it not only opens the pores, provokes ſweat, and thereby allays heat; ſupples the joints and ſinews; unwearies and refreſhes more than any thing, after too great labour and exerciſe, but is of great effect in ſome acute pains, as of the ſtone and cholic; and diſpoſes to ſleep, when many other remedies fail. Nor is it improbable, that all good effects of any natural baths may be imitated by the artificial, if compoſed with care and ſkill of able naturaliſts or phyſicians.

Fumigation, or the uſe of ſcents, is not, that I know, at all practiſed in our modern phyſic, nor the power and virtue of them conſidered among us; yet they may have as much to do good, for aught I know, as to do harm, and contribute to health as well as to diſeaſes; which is too much felt by experience in all that are infectious, and by the operations of ſome poiſons that are received only by the ſmell. How reviving as well as pleaſing ſome ſcents of herbs or flowers are, is obvious to all; how great virtues they may have in diſeaſes, eſpecially of the head, is known to few, but may be eaſily conjectured by any thinking man. What is recorded of Democritus, is worth remarking upon this ſubject: that being ſpent with age, and juſt at the point of death, and his ſiſter bewailing that he ſhould not live till the feaſt of Ceres, which was to be kept three or four days after, he called for loaves of new bread to be brought him, and with the ſteam of them under his noſe prolonged his life till the feaſt was paſt, and then died. Whether a man may live ſome time, or how long, by the ſteam of meat, I cannot tell; but the juſtice was great, if not the truth, in that ſtory of a cook, who obſerving a man to uſe it often in his ſhop, and aſking

money becauſe he confeſſed to ſave his dinner by it. was adjudged to be paid by the chinking of his coin, I remember, that walking in a long gallery of the Indian houſe at Amſterdam, where vaſt quantities of mace, cloves, and nutmegs, were kept in great open cheſts ranged all along one ſide of the room, I found ſomething ſo reviving by the perfumed air, that I took notice of it to the company with me, which was a great deal, and they all were ſenſible of the ſame effect; which is enough to ſhew the power of ſmells, and their operations both upon health and humour.

Friction is of great and excellent uſe, and of very general practice in the eaſtern countries, eſpecially after their frequent bathings; it opens the pores, and is the beſt way of all forced perſpiration; is very proper and effectual in all ſwellings and pains of the joints, or others in the fleſh, which are not to be drawn to a head and break. It is a ſaying among the Indians, that none can be much troubled with the gout who have ſlaves enough to rub them; and is the beſt natural account of ſome ſtories I have heard of perſons who were ſaid to cure ſeveral diſeaſes by ſtroking.

Jactations were uſed for ſome amuſement and allay in great and conſtant pains, and to relieve that intranquillity which attends moſt diſeaſes, and makes men often impatient of lying ſtill in their beds: beſides, they help or occaſion ſleep, as we find by the common uſe and experience of rocking froward children in cradles or dandling them in their nurſes arms. I remember an old Prince Maurice of Naſſau, who had been accuſtomed to hammocks in Brazil, and uſed them frequently all his life after, upon the pains he ſuffered by the ſtone or gout, and thought he found eaſe, and was allured to ſleep by the conſtant motion or ſwinging of thoſe airy beds, which was aſſiſted by

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a ſervant, if they moved too little by the ſprings upon which they hung.

In Egypt of old, and at this time in Barbary, the general method of cures in moſt diſeaſes is by burning with a hot iron; ſo as the bodies of their ſlaves are found often to have many ſcars upon them remaining of thoſe operations. But this and other uſes and effects of fire I have taken notice enough of in an eſſay upon the Indian cure by moxa in the gout.

The ancient native Iriſh, and the Americans at the time of the firſt European diſcoveries and conqueſts there, knew nothing of phyſic beyond the virtues of herbs and plants. And in this the moſt poliſhed nation agrees in a great meaſure with thoſe that were eſteemed moſt barbarous; and where the learning and voluptuouſneſs are as great as were the native ſimplicity and ignorance of the others. For in China, tho' their phyſicians are admirable in the knowledge of the pulſe, and by that, in diſcovering the cauſes of all inward diſeaſes; yet their practice extends little further in the cures beyond the methods of diet, and the virtues of herbs and plants, either inwardly taken or outwardly applied.

In the courſe of my life, I have often pleaſed or entertained myſelf with obſerving the various and fantaſtical changes of the diſeaſes generally complained of, and of the remedies in common vogue, which were like birds of paſſage, very much ſeen or heard of at one ſeaſon, and diſappeared at another, and commonly ſucceeded by ſome of a very different kind. When I was very young, nothing was ſo much feared or talked of as rickets among children, and conſumptions among young people of both ſexes: after theſe the ſpleen came in play, and grew a formal diſeaſe; then the ſcurvy, which was the general complaint, and both were thought to appear in many various guiſes. After theſe, and for a time, nothing was ſo much talked

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of as the ferment of the blood, which paſſed for the cauſe of all ſorts of ailments, that neither phyſicians nor patients knew well what to make of. And to all theſe ſucceeded vapours, which ſerve the ſame turn, and furniſh occaſion of complaint among perſons whoſe bodies or minds ail ſomething, but they know not what; and among the Chineſes would paſs for miſts of the mind or fumes of the brain, rather than indiſpoſitions of any other parts. Yet theſe employ our phyſicians perhaps more than other diſeaſes, who are fain to humour ſuch patients in their fancies of being ill, and to preſcribe ſome remedies, for fear of loſing their practice to others that pretend more ſkill in finding out the cauſe of diſeaſes, or care in adviſing remedies, which neither they nor their patients find any effect of, beſides ſome gains to one, and amuſement to the other. This, I ſuppoſe, may have contributed much to the mode of going to the waters either cold or hot upon ſo many occaſions, or elſe upon none beſides that of entertainment, and which commonly may have no other effect. And it is well if this be the worſt of the frequent uſe of thoſe waters, which, though commonly innocent, yet are ſometimes dangerous, if the temper of the perſon or cauſe of the indiſpoſition be unhappily miſtaken, eſpecially in people of age.

As diſeaſes have changed vogue, ſo have remedies in my time and obſervation. I remember at one time the taking of tobacco, at another the drinking of warm beer, proved for univerſal remedies; then ſwallowing of pebble-ſtones, in imitation of falconers curing hawks. One doctor pretended to help all heats and fevers by drinking as much cold ſpring water as the patient could bear; at another time, ſwallowing up a ſpoonful of powder of ſea biſket after meals was infallible for all indigeſtion, and ſo preventing diſeaſes. Then coffee and tea began their ſucceſſive reigns. The infuſion of powder of ſteel have had their turns,

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and certain drops of ſeveral names and compoſitions; but none that I find have eſtabliſhed their authority, either long or generally, by any conſtant and ſenſible ſucceſſes of their reign, but have rather paſſed like a mode, which every one is apt to follow, and finds the moſt convenient or graceful while it laſts; and begins to diſlike in both thoſe reſpects when it goes out of faſhion.

Thus men are apt to play with their healths and their lives, as they do with their cloaths; which may be the better excuſed, ſince both are ſo tranſitory, ſo ſubject to be ſpoiled with common uſe, to be torn by accidents, and at beſt to be ſo ſoon worn out. Yet the uſual practice of phyſic among us runs ſtill the ſame courſe, and turns, in a manner, wholly upon evacuation, either by bleeding, vomits, or ſome ſorts of purgation; though it be not often agreed among phyſicians in what caſes or what degrees any of theſe are neceſſary; nor among other men, whether any of them are neceſſary or no. Montaigne queſtions whether purging ever be ſo, and from many ingenious reaſons: the Chineſes never let blood; and, for the other, it is very probable that nature knows her own wants and times ſo well, and ſo eaſily finds her own relief that way, as to need little aſſiſtance, and not well to receive the common violences that are offered her. I remember three in my life and obſervation who were as downright killed with vomits as they could have been with daggers; and I can ſay for myſelf, upon an accident very near mortal, when I was young, that, ſending for the two beſt phyſicians of the town, the firſt preſcribed me a vomit, and immediately ſent it me: I had the grace or ſenſe to refuſe it till the other came, who told me, if I had taken it, I could not have lived half an hour. I obſerved a conſult of phyſicians, in a fever of one of my near friends, perplexed to the laſt degree whether to let him blood or no, and not able

to

to reſolve, till the courſe of the diſeaſe had declared itſelf, and thereby determined them. Another of my friends was ſo often let blood by his firſt phyſician, that a ſecond, who was ſent for, queſtioned whether he would recover it: the firſt perſiſted the blood muſt be drawn till ſome good appeared; the other affirmed, that in ſuch diſeaſes, the whole maſs was corrupted, but would purify again when the accident was paſt, like wine after a fermentation, which makes all in the veſſel thick and foul for a ſeaſon; but, when that is paſt, grows clear again of itſelf. So much is certain, that it depends a great deal upon the temper of the patient, the nature of the diſeaſe in its firſt cauſes, upon the ſkill and care of the phyſician to decide whether any of theſe violences upon nature are neceſſary or no, and whether they are like to do good or harm.

The reſt of our common practice conſiſts in various compoſitions of innocent ingredients, which feed the hopes of the patient, and the apothecary's gains, but leave nature to her courſe, who is the ſovereign phyſician in moſt diſeaſes, and leaves little for others to do, further than to watch accidents; where they know no ſpecific remedies, to preſcribe diets; and, above all to prevent diſorders from the ſtomach, and take care that nature be not employed in the kitchen, when ſhe ſhould be in the field to reſiſt her enemy; and that ſhe ſhould not be weakened in her ſpirits and ſtrength, when they are moſt neceſſary to ſupport and relieve her. It is true, phyſicians muſt be in danger of loſing their credit with the vulgar, if they ſhould often tell a patient he has no need of phyſic, and preſcribe only rules of diet or common uſe; moſt people would think they had loſt their fee: but the excellence of a phyſician's ſkill and care is diſcovered by reſolving firſt whether it be beſt in the caſe to adminiſter any phyſic or none, to truſt to nature or to art; and the next, to give ſuch

preſcriptions,

preſcriptions, as, if they do no good, may be ſure to do no harm.

In the midſt of ſuch uncertainties of health and of phyſic, for my own part I have, in the general courſe of my life, and of many acute diſeaſes, as well as ſome habitual, truſted to God Almighty, to nature, to temperance or abſtinence, and the uſe of common remedies, either vulgarly known, and approved like proverbs by long obſervation and experience, either of my own, or ſuch perſons as have fallen in the way of my obſervation or enquiry.

Among the plants of our ſoil and climate, thoſe I eſteem of greateſt virtue and moſt friendly to health, are ſage, rue, ſaffron, alehoof, garlic, and elder. Sage deſerves not only the juſt reputation it has been always in of a very wholeſome herb, in common uſes, and generally known, but is admirable in conſumptive coughs, of which I have cured ſome very deſperate, by a draught every morning of ſpring water, with a handful of ſage boiled in it, and continued for a month. I do not queſtion that, if it were uſed as tea, it would have at leaſt in all kinds as good an effect upon health, if not of ſo much entertainment to the taſte, being perhaps not ſo agreeable; and I had reaſon to believe when I was in Holland that vaſt quantities of ſage were carried to the Indies yearly, as well as of tea brought over from thoſe countries into ours.

Rue is of excellent uſe for all illneſſes of the ſtomach that proceed from cold or moiſt humours; a great digeſter and reſtorer of appetite, diſpels wind, helps perſpiration, drives out ill humours, and thereby comes to be ſo much preſcribed, and ſo commonly uſed in peſtilent airs, and upon apprehenſions of any contagion. The only ill of it lies in the too much or too frequent uſe, which may leſſen and impair the natural heat of the ſtomach, by the greater heat of an herb very hot and dry; and therefore the juice made up with

with ſugar into ſmall pills, and ſwallowed only two or three at nights or mornings, and only when there is occaſion, is the moſt innocent way of uſing it.

Saffron is, of all others, the ſafeſt and moſt ſimple cordial, the greateſt reviver of the heart and chearer of the ſpirits, and cannot be of too common uſe in diet, any more than in medicine. The ſpirit of ſaffron is, of all others, the nobleſt and moſt innocent, and yet of the greateſt virtue: I have known it reſtore a man out of the very agonies of death, when left by all phyſicians as wholly deſperate. But the uſe of this and all ſpirits ought to be employed only in caſes very urgent, either of decays or pains; for all ſpirits have the ſame effect with that mentioned of rue, which is, by frequent uſe to deſtroy, and at laſt to extinguiſh the natural heat of the ſtomach; as the frequent drinking wine at meals does in a degree, and with time, but that of all ſtrong waters more ſenſibly and more dangerouſly. Yet a long cuſtom of either cannot be ſuddenly broken without danger too, and muſt be changed with time, with leſſening the proportions by degrees, with ſhorter firſt, and then with longer intermiſſions.

Alehoof or groundivy is, in my opinion, of the moſt excellent and moſt general uſe and virtue of any plants we have among us. It is allowed to be moſt ſovereign for the eyes, admirable in frenzies, either taken inwardly or outwardly applied. Beſides, if there be a ſpecific remedy or prevention of the ſtone, I take it to be the conſtant uſe of alehoof-ale, whereof I have known ſeveral experiences by others, and can, I thank God, alledge my own for about ten years paſt. This is the plant with which all our anceſtors made their common drink, when the inhabitants of this iſland were eſteemed the longeſt livers of any in the known world; and the ſtone is ſaid to have firſt come amongſt us after hops were introduced here, and the ſtaleneſs of

beer

beer brought into cuſtom by preſerving it long. It is known enough, how much this plant has been decryed, how generally ſoever it has been received in theſe maritime northern parts; and the chief reaſon which I believe gave it vogue at firſt was the preſerving beer upon long ſea-voyages: but for common health, I am apt to think the uſe of heath or broom had been of much more advantage, though none yet invented of ſo great and general as that of alehoof, which is certainly the greateſt cleanſer of any plant known among us; and which in old Engliſh ſignified that which was neceſſary to the making of ale, the common or rather univerſal drink heretofore of our nation.

Garlic has of all our plants the greateſt ſtrength, affords moſt nouriſhment, and ſupplies moſt ſpirits to thoſe who eat little fleſh, as the poorer people ſeldom do in the hotter, and eſpecially the more eaſtern climates: ſo that the labour of the world ſeems to be performed by the force and virtue of garlic, leeks, and onions, no other food of herbs or plants yielding ſtrength enough for much labour. Garlic is of great virtue in all cholics, a great ſtrengthener of the ſtomach upon decays of appetite or indigeſtion, and I believe is (if at leaſt there be any ſuch) a ſpecific remedy of the gout. I have known great teſtimonies of this kind within my acquaintance, and have never uſed it myſelf upon this occaſion without an opinion of ſome ſucceſs or advantage. But I could never long enough bear the conſtraint of a diet I found not very agreeable myſelf, and at leaſt fancied offenſive to the company I converſed with.

Beſides, this diſeaſe is to me ſo hereditary, and come into my veins from ſo many anceſtors, that I have reaſon to deſpair of any cure but the laſt, and content myſelf to fence againſt it by temperance and patience, without hopes of conquering ſuch an inveterate enemy; therefore I leave the uſe of garlic to

ſuch

ſuch as are inveigled into the gout by the pleaſure of too much drinking, the ill effects whereof are not more relieved by any other diet than by this plant, which is ſo great a drier and opener, eſpecially by perſpiration. Nor is it leſs uſed in many parts abroad as phyſic than as food. In ſeveral provinces of France it is uſual to fall into a diet of garlic for a fortnight or three weeks, upon the firſt freſh butter of the ſpring; and the common people eſteem it a preſervative againſt the diſeaſes of the enſuing year; and a broth of garlic or onions is ſo generally uſed the next day after a debauch as to be called ſoupè à l'yvroigne. This is enough to ſhew the uſe as well as virtues of this northern ſpice, which is in mighty requeſt among the Indians themſelves, in the midſt of ſo many others that enrich and perfume thoſe noble regions.

Elder is of great virtue in all indiſpoſitions ariſing from any watery humours; and not only the flowers and berries, but even the green bark, are uſed with effect, and perhaps equal ſucceſs in their ſeaſons. I have been told of ſome great cures of the gout by the ſucceeding uſe of all three throughout the year: but I have been always too libertine for any great and long ſubjections, to make the trials. The ſpirit of elder is ſovereign in cholics, and the uſe of it, in general, very beneficial in ſcurvies and dropſies; though, in the laſt, I eſteem broom yet of more virtue, either brewed in common drink, or the aſhes taken in white wine every morning; which may perhaps paſs for a ſpecific remedy, whereof we may juſtly complain, that after ſo long experience of ſo learned a profeſſion as phyſic, we yet know ſo very few.

That which has paſſed of latter years, for the moſt allowed in this kind, has been the quinquinna, or Jeſuits powder, in fevers, but eſpecially agues. I can ſay nothing of it upon any experience of my own, nor many within my knowledge. I remember its en-

trance

trance upon our ſtage with ſome diſadvantage, and the repute of leaving no cures, without danger of worſe returns. But the credit of it ſeems now to be eſtabliſhed by common uſe and preſcription, and to be improved by new and ſingular preparations; whereof I have very good and particular reaſons to affirm, that they are all amuſements; and, that what virtue there is in this remedy, lies in the naked ſimple itſelf, as it comes over from the Indies, and in the choice of that which is leaſt dried, or periſhed by the voyage.

The next ſpecific I eſteem to be that little inſect called millepedes; the powder whereof, made up into little balls with freſh butter, I never knew fail of curing any ſore throat: it muſt lie at the root of the tongue, and melt down at leiſure upon going to bed. I have been aſſured that doctor Mayerne uſed it as a certain cure for all cancers in the breaſt; and ſhould be very tedious if I ſhould tell here, how much the uſe of it has been extolled by ſeveral within my knowledge, upon the admirable effects for the eyes, the ſcurvy, and the gout; but there needs no more to value it, than what the ancient phyſicians affirm of it in thoſe three words:

Digerit,	*Aperit*,	*Abſtergit.*
It digeſts;	It opens;	It cleanſes.

For rheums in the eyes and the head, I take a leaf of tobacco put into the noſtrils for an hour each morning, to be a ſpecific medicine; or betony, if the other be too ſtrong or offenſive: the effect of both is to draw rheums off the head, through their proper and natural channel. And old prince Maurice of Naſſau told me, he had by this preſerved his eyes to ſo great an age, after the danger of loſing them at thirty years old: and I have ever ſince uſed it with the

ſame ſucceſs, after great reaſons near that age to apprehend the loſs or decays of mine.

In times and places of great contagion, the ſtrongeſt preſervative yet known is a piece of myrrh held in the mouth, when or where the danger is moſt apprehended; which I have both practiſed and taught many others with ſucceſs, in ſeveral places where cruel plagues have raged: though in ſuch caſes, after all, the beſt and ſafeſt is to run away as ſoon as one can. Yet, upon this occaſion, I think myrrh may paſs for a ſpecific in prevention; and may, for aught I know, be of uſe in remedies, as the greateſt enemy of corruption, which is known by the uſe of embalmings in the eaſt.

For all illneſſes of ſtomach, or indigeſtions, proceeding from hot and ſharp humours, to which my whole family has been much ſubject, as well as very many of my acquaintance; and for which powder of crabs-eyes and claws and burnt egg-ſhells are often preſcribed as ſweeteners of any ſharp humours; I have never found any thing of much or certain effect, beſides the eating of ſtrawberries, common cherries, white figs, ſoft peaches, or grapes, before every meal, during their ſeaſons; and, when thoſe are paſt, apples after meals; but all muſt be very ripe: and this, by my own and all my friends experience who have tried it, I reckon for a ſpecific medicine in this illneſs ſo frequently complained of; at leaſt, for the two firſt, I never knew them fail; and the uſual quantity is about forty cherries, without ſwallowing either ſkin or ſtone. I obſerve this the rather, becauſe the recourſe commonly made in this caſe to ſtrong waters I eſteem very pernicious, and which inevitably deſtroys the ſtomach with frequent uſe. The beſt, at leaſt moſt innocent, of all diſtilled liquors is milk-water made with balm, carduus, mint, and wormwood, which has many good effects in illneſſes of the ſtomach, and

none

none ill. The beſt and ſafeſt ſtrong water, if any be ſo, for common uſe, I eſteem to be that made of juniper berries, eſpecially in accidents of ſtone and colic.

Of all cordials, I eſteem my lady Kent's powder the beſt, the moſt innocent, and the moſt univerſal; though the common practice of phyſic abounds in nothing more, and the virtue ſeems to be little elſe, beſides an alluſion of the name to the heart.

Upon the gout I have writ what I had known or practiſed in an eſſay of moxa; and upon the ſpleen, what I had obſerved in a chapter upon the diſpoſitions of the people in the Netherlands; I ſhall only add for the help of my fellow-ſufferers in the firſt, that beſides what is contained in that former eſſay, and ſince thoſe pains have grown more diffuſed, and leſs fixed in one point, ſo as to be burned with moxa, which never failed of giving me preſent eaſe, I have found the moſt benefit from three methods. The firſt is that of moving the joint where the pain begins, as long as I am able in my bed; which I have often done, and counted five or ſix hundred times or more, till I found firſt a great heat, and then perſpiration in the part; the heat ſpends or diſperſes the humour within and the perſpiration drives it out; and I have eſcaped many threats of ill fits by theſe motions: if they go on, the only poultice or plaiſter I have dealt with is wool from the belly of a fat ſheep, which has often given me eaſe in a very little time. If the pains grow ſharp, and the ſwellings ſo diffuſed, as not to be burned with moxa, the beſt remedy, I have found, is from a piece of ſcarlet dipped in ſcalding brandy laid upon the afflicted part, and the heat often renewed by dropping it upon the ſcarlet as hot as can be endured; and from this I have often found the ſame ſucceſs as from moxa, and without breaking the ſkin, or leaving any ſore.

To what I have ſaid in another place of the ſpleen, I ſhall only add here, that whatever the ſpleen is, whether a diſeaſe of the part ſo called, or of people that ail ſomething, but they know not what, it is certainly a very ill ingredient into any other diſeaſe, and very often dangerous. For, as hope is the ſovereign balſam of life, and the beſt cordial in all diſtempers both of body or mind; ſo fear, and regret, and melancholy apprehenſions, which are the uſual effects of the ſpleen, with the diſtractions, diſquiets, or at leaſt intranquillity, they occaſion, are the worſt accidents that can attend any diſeaſes, and make them often mortal, which would otherwiſe paſs, and have had but a common courſe. I have known the moſt buſy miniſters of ſtate, moſt fortunate courtiers, moſt vigorous youths, moſt beautiful virgins, in the ſtrength or flower of their age, ſink under common diſtempers by the force of ſuch weights, and the cruel damps and diſturbances thereby given their ſpirits and their blood. It is no matter what is made the occaſion, if well improved by ſpleen and melancholy apprehenſions: a diſappointed hope, a blot of honour, a ſtrain of conſcience, an unfortunate love, an aching jealouſy, a repining grief, will ſerve the turn, and all alike.

I remember an ingenious phyſician, who told me, in the fanatic times, he found moſt of his patients ſo diſturbed by troubles of conſcience, that he was forced to play the divine with them before he could begin the phyſician; whoſe greateſt ſkill perhaps often lies in the infuſing of hopes, and inducing ſome compoſure and tranquillity of mind, before they enter upon the other operations of their art: and this ought to be the firſt endeavour of the patient too, without which all other medicines may loſe their virtue.

The two great bleſſings of life are, in my opinion, health and good humour; and none contribute more to one another; without health, all will allow life to be but

but a burden; and the ſeveral conditions of fortune to be all wearifome, dull, or diſagreeable, without good humour: nor does any ſeem to contribute towards the true happineſs of life, but as it ſerves to increaſe that treaſure, or to preſerve it. Whatever other differences are commonly apprehended in the ſeveral conditions of fortune, none perhaps will be found ſo true or ſo great, as what is made by thoſe two circumſtances, ſo little regarded in the common courſe or purſuits of mortal men.

Whether long life be a bleſſing or no, God Almighty only can determine, who alone knows what length it is like to run, and how it is like to be attended. Socrates uſed to ſay, that it was pleaſant to grow old with good health and a good friend; and he might have reaſon. A man may be content to live while he is no trouble to himſelf or his friends; but after that, it is hard if he be not content to die. I knew and eſteemed a perſon abroad, who uſed to ſay, a man muſt be a mean wretch that deſired to live after threeſcore years old. But ſo much, I doubt, is certain, that in life, as in wine, he that will drink it good, muſt not draw it to dregs.

Where this happens, one comfort of age may be, that whereas younger men are uſually in pain, when they are not in pleaſure, old men find a ſort of pleaſure, whenever they are out of pain. And as young men often loſe or impair their preſent enjoyment, by raving after what is to come, by vain hopes, or fruitleſs fears; ſo old men relieve the wants of their age, by pleaſing reflexions upon what is paſt. Therefore men, in the health and vigour of their age, ſhould endeavour to fill their lives with reading, with travel, with the beſt converſation, and the worthieſt actions, either in their public or private ſtations, that they may have ſomething agreeable left to feed on, when they are old, by pleaſing remembrances.

But as they are only the clean beafts which chew the cud, when they have fed enough; fo they muft be clean and virtuous men that can reflect, with pleafure, upon the paft accidents or courfes of their lives. Befides, men who grow old with good fenfe, or good fortunes and good nature, cannot want the pleafure of pleafing others, by affifting with their gifts, their credit, and their advice, fuch as deferve it; as well as their care of children, kindnefs to friends, and bounty to fervants.

But there cannot indeed live a more unhappy creature than an ill-natured old man, who is neither capable of receiving pleafures, nor fenfible of doing them to others; and, in fuch a condition, it is time to leave them.

Thus have I traced, in this eflay, whatever has fallen in my way or thoughts to obferve concerning life and health, and which I conceived might be of any public ufe to be known or confidered; the plainnefs wherewith it is written eafily fhews, there could be no other intention: and it may at leaft pafs like a Derbyfhire charm, which is ufed among fick cattle, with thefe words; if it does thee no good, it will do thee no harm.

To fum up all, the firft principle of health and long life is derived from the ftrength of our race or our birth, which gave occafion to that faying, Gaudeant bene nati; let them rejoice that are happily born. Accidents are not in our power to govern; fo that the beft cares or provifions for life and health, that are left us, confift in the difcreet and temperate government of diet and exercife; in both which all excefs is to be avoided, efpecially in the common ufe of wine; whereof the firft glafs may pafs for health, the fecond for good humour, the third for our friends; but the fourth is for our enemies.

For temperance in other kinds, or in general, I have given its character and virtues in the eſſay of moxa, ſo as to need no more upon that ſubject here.

When, in default or deſpite of all theſe cares, or by effect of ill airs and ſeaſons, acute or ſtrong diſeaſes may ariſe, recourſe muſt be had to the beſt phyſicians that are in reach, whoſe ſucceſs will depend upon thought and care, as much as ſkill. In all diſeaſes of body or mind, it is happy to have an able phyſician for a friend, or diſcreet friend for a phyſician; which is ſo great a bleſſing, that the wiſe man will have it to proceed only from God, where he ſays, "A faithful friend is the medicine of life, and he that fears the Lord ſhall find him."

OF

HEROIC VIRTUE.

AMONG all the endowments of nature, or improvements of art, wherein men have excelled and diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the world, there are two only that have had the honour of being called divine, and of giving that eſteem or appellation to ſuch as poſſeſſed them in very eminent degrees; which are heroic virtue, and poetry: for prophecy cannot be eſteemed any excellency of nature or of art, but where-ever it is true, is an immediate gift of God, and beſtowed according to his pleaſure, and upon ſubjects of the meaneſt capacity, upon women or children, or even things inanimate, as the ſtones placed in the high-prieſt's breaſt-plate, which were a ſacred oracle among the Jews.

I will leave poetry to an eſſay by itſelf, and dedicate this only to that antiquated ſhrine of heroic virtue, which, however forgotten, or unknown in latter ages, muſt yet be allowed to have produced in the world the advantages moſt valued among men, and which moſt diſtinguiſh their underſtandings and their lives from the reſt of their fellow-creatures.

Though it be eaſier to deſcribe heroic virtue by the effects and examples, than by cauſes or definitions, yet it may be ſaid to ariſe from ſome great and native excellency of temper or genius tranſcending the common

race

race of mankind in wiſdom, goodneſs, and fortitude. Theſe ingredients advantaged by birth, improved by education, and aſſiſted by fortune, ſeem to make that noble compoſition, which gives ſuch a luſtre to thoſe who have poſſeſſed it, as made them appear to common eyes ſomething more than mortals, and to have been born of ſome mixture between divine and human race; to have been honoured and obeyed in their lives, and after their deaths bewailed and adored.

The greatneſs of their wiſdom appeared in the excellency of their inventions; and theſe, by the goodneſs of their nature, were turned and exerciſed upon ſuch ſubjects as were of general good to mankind in the common uſes of life, or to their own countries in the inſtitutions of ſuch laws, orders, or governments, as were of moſt eaſe, ſafety, and advantage to civil ſociety. Their valour was employed in defending their own countries from the violence of ill men at home, or enemies abroad; in reducing their barbarous neighbours to the ſame forms and orders of civil lives and inſtitutions; or in relieving others from the cruelties and oppreſſions of tyranny and violence.

Theſe are all comprehended in three verſes of Virgil deſcribing the bleſſed ſeats in Elyſium, and thoſe that enjoyed them:

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

Here ſuch, as for their country wounds receiv'd,
Or who by arts invented life improv'd,
Or by deſerving made themſelves remember'd.

And, indeed, the character of heroic virtue ſeems to be, in ſhort, the deſerving well of mankind. Where this is chief in deſign, and great in ſucceſs, the pre-

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tence to a hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have ſaid, that this excellency of genius muſt be native, becauſe it can never grow to any great height, if it be only acquired or affected; but it muſt be ennobled by birth to give it more luſtre, eſteem, and authority; it muſt be cultivated by education and inſtruction, to improve its growth, and direct its end and application; and it muſt be aſſiſted by fortune, to preſerve it to maturity; becauſe the nobleſt ſpirit or genius in the world, if it falls, though never ſo bravely, in its firſt enterpriſes, cannot deſerve enough of mankind to pretend to ſo great a reward, as the eſteem of heroic virtue. And yet perhaps many a perſon has died in the firſt battle or adventure he atchieved, and lies buried in ſilence and oblivion, who, had he out-lived as many dangers as Alexander did, might have ſhined as bright in honour and fame. Now ſince ſo many ſtars go to the making up of this conſtellation, it is no wonder it has ſo ſeldom appeared in the world; nor that when it does, it is received and followed with ſo much gazing, and ſo much veneration.

Among the ſimpler ages or generations of men, in ſeveral countries, thoſe who were the firſt inventors of arts generally received and applauded as moſt neceſſary or uſeful to human life, were honoured alive, and, after death, worſhipped as Gods. And ſo were thoſe, who had been the firſt authors of any good and well inſtituted civil government in any country, by which the native inhabitants were reduced from ſavage and brutiſh lives to the ſafety and convenience of ſocieties, the enjoyment of property, the obſervance of orders, and the obedience of laws; which were followed by ſecurity, plenty, civility, riches, induſtry, and all kinds of arts. The evident advantages and common benefits of theſe ſorts of inſtitutions made

people

people generally inclined at home to obey ſuch governors, the neighbour nations to eſteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their protection, or eaſily yield to the force of their arms and proweſs. Thus conqueſts began to be made in the world, and upon the ſame deſigns of reducing barbarous nations unto civil and well regulated conſtitutions and governments, and of ſubduing thoſe by force to obey them, who refuſed to accept willingly the advantages of life or condition that were thereby offered them. Such perſons of old, who, excelling in thoſe virtues, were attended by theſe fortunes, and made great and famous conqueſts, and left them under good conſtitutions of laws and governments, or who inſtituted excellent and laſting orders and frames of any political ſtate, in what compaſs ſoever of country, or under what name ſoever of civil government, were obeyed as princes or lawgivers in their own times, and were called, in after-ages, by the name of heroes.

From theſe ſources, I believe, may be deduced all or moſt of the theology or idolatry of all the ancient pagan countries within the compaſs of the four great empires, ſo much renowned in ſtory, and perhaps of ſome others, as great in their conſtitutions, and as extended in their conqueſts, though not ſo much celebrated or obſerved by learned men.

From all I can gather upon the ſurveys of ancient ſtory, I am apt to conclude, that Saturn was a king of Crete, and expelled that kingdom by his ſon. That Jupiter, having driven out his father from Crete, conquered Greece, or at leaſt the Peloponneſus, and having among thoſe inhabitants introduced the uſe of agriculture, of property and civility, and eſtabliſhed a juſt and regular kingdom, was by them adored as chief of their gods.

Ante Jovem nulli ſubigebant arva coloni.

That

That his brother, ſiſters, ſons, and daughters were worſhipped likewiſe, for the inventions of things chiefly uſeful, neceſſary, or agreeable to human life. So Neptune, for the art or improvement of navigation; Vulcan, for that of forging braſs and iron; Minerva, of ſpinning; Apollo, of muſic and poetry; Mercury, of manual arts and merchandiſe; Bacchus, for the invention of wine; and Ceres, of corn.

I do not find any traces left by which a probable conjecture may be made of the age wherein this race of Saturn flouriſhed in the world, nor, conſequently, what length of time they were adored; for as to Bacchus and Hercules, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of thoſe names in very different times, and perhaps countries, as Greece and Egypt; and that the laſt, who was ſon of Alcmena, and one of the Argonauts, was very modern in reſpect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the race of Jupiter. But the ſtory of that Bacchus and Hercules, who are ſaid to have conquered India, is grown too obſcure by the dark ſhades of ſo great antiquity, or diſguiſed by the maſk of fables and fiction of poets.

The ſame divine honours were rendered by the Egyptians to Oſyris; in whoſe temple was inſcribed on a pillar, that he had gone through all countries, and every where taught men all that he found neceſſary for the common good of mankind; by the Aſſyrians to Belus, the founder of that kingdom, and great inventor or improver of aſtronomy among the Chaldeans; by the original Latins or Hetruſcans, to Janus, who introduced agriculture into Italy; and theſe three were worſhipped as gods by thoſe ancient and learned nations.

Ninus and Seſoſtris were renowned for their mighty conqueſt, and eſteemed the two great heroes of Aſſyria and of Egypt; the firſt having extended his victories

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to the river Indus, and the other thoſe of the Egyptians over Aſia, as far as Pontus. The time of Ninus is controverted among hiſtorians, being by ſome placed thirteen, by others eight hundred years before Sardanapalus; but that of Seſoſtris is, in my opinion, much harder to be affirmed: for I do not ſee how their opinion can be allowed, who make him to be Seſack, that took Jeruſalem in the time of Rehoboam, ſince no more is ſaid in ſcripture of the progreſs of that expedition; nor is the time of it mentioned in the Grecian ſtory, though ſome records are there found of all that paſſed after the Trojan war, and with diſtinction enough. But the moſt ancient among them ſpeak of the reign of Seſoſtris, and his mighty conqueſts, as very ancient then, and agree the kingdom of Colchis to have deſcended from a colony there eſtabliſhed by this famous king, as a monument how far northward his victories had extended. Now this kingdom flouriſhed in the time of the Argonauts, and excelled in thoſe arts of magic and enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of Egypt; ſo as I think the ſtory of this king muſt be reckoned as almoſt covered with the ruins of time.

The two next heroes that enter the ſcene, are the Theban Hercules and Theſeus, both renowned among the Greeks for freeing their country from fierce wild beaſts, or from fiercer and wilder men that infeſted them; from robbers and ſpoilers, or from cruel and lawleſs tyrants. Theſeus was beſides honoured as founder of the more civil ſtate or kingdom of Athens, which city firſt began to flouriſh and grow great by his inſtitutions, though his father had been king of the ſcattered villages or inhabitants of Attica.

In the ſame age flouriſhed Minos king of Crete, reputed to be ſon of Jupiter, who by the force and number of his fleets became lord of the Egean

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iſlands and moſt of the coaſts of Greece, and was renowned as a hero for the juſtneſs of his laws, and the greatneſs of his reign.

For the heroes in the time of the Trojan wars, ſo much celebrated in thoſe two charming poems, which from them were called heroical, though it is eaſy to take their characters from thoſe admirable pictures drawn of them by Homer and Virgil, yet it is hard to find them in the relations of any authentic ſtory. That which may be obſerved is, that all the conduct and courage of Hector were employed in the defence of his country and his father againſt a foreign invaſion: the valour of Achilles was exerciſed in the common cauſe, wherein his whole nation was engaged upon the fatal revenge of the rape of Helen, though he had been aſſured by certain propheſies, that he ſhould die before the walls of Troy: and Æneas, having employed his utmoſt proweſs in defence of his country, ſaved his father and the Trojan gods, gathered up the remainders of his ruined country, ſailed to Italy, and there founded a kingdom, which gave riſe to the greateſt empire of the world.

About two hundred and fifty years after theſe, Lycurgus inſtituted the Spartan ſtate upon laws and orders ſo different from thoſe uſual in thoſe times and countries, that more than human authority ſeemed neceſſary to eſtabliſh them; and the Pythian prieſteſs told him, ſhe did not know whether ſhe ſhould call him a god or a man. And indeed no civil or politic conſtitutions have been more celebrated than his by the beſt authors of ancient ſtory and times.

The next heroes we meet with upon record, were Romulus and Numa, of which the firſt founded the Roman city and ſtate, and the other poliſhed the civil and religious orders of both in ſuch a degree, that the original inſtitutions of theſe two lawgivers continued as long as that glorious ſtate.

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The next hero that came upon the ſtage was Cyrus, who freed his country from their ſervitude to the Medes, erected the Perſian empire upon the ruins of the Aſſyrian, adorned it with excellent conſtitutions and laws, and extended it weſtward, by the conqueſt of all the Leſſer Aſia and Lydia, to the very coaſts of the Ægean ſea. Whether the picture of Cyrus, drawn by Xenophon, be after the life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the trueſt character that can be given of heroic virtue: and it is certain his memory was always celebrated among the Perſians, though not proſecuted by divine honours, becauſe that nation adored one Supreme God, without any repreſentation or idol; and in the next place the ſun, to whom alone they offered ſacrifices.

Alexander was the next renowned in ſtory, having founded the Grecian monarchy by the entire conqueſt of the Perſian, and extended it by the addition of Greece and Macedon. But he attained not the eſteem or appellation of an hero, though he affected and courted it by his mother's ſtories of his birth, and by the flatteries of the prieſt and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. His pretence was juſtly excluded by his intemperance in wine, in anger, and in luſt, and more yet by his cruelties and his pride: for true honour has ſomething in it ſo humorous, as to follow commonly thoſe who avoid and neglect it, rather than thoſe who ſeek and purſue it. Beſides, he inſtituted no orders or frame of government in the kingdoms either of Macedon or Perſia, but rather corrupted and diſordered thoſe he found; and ſeems to have owed the ſucceſſes of his enterprizes to the counſels and conduct of his father's old officers, after whoſe diſgrace and fall immediately ſucceeded that of his fortune and his life. Yet he muſt be allowed to have much contributed to his own glory and fame by a great native genius and unlimited bounty, and by the greateſt boldneſs of enterprize,

terprize, ſcorn of danger, and fearleſſneſs of death, that could be in any mortal man. He was a prodigy of valour and of fortune; but whether his virtues or his faults were greateſt, is hard to be decided.

Cæſar, who is commonly eſteemed to have been founder of the Roman empire, ſeems to have poſſeſſed very eminently all the qualities, both native and acquired, that enter into the compoſition of an hero, but failed of the attribute of honour, becauſe he overthrew the laws of his own country and orders of his ſtate, and raiſed his greatneſs by the conqueſt of his fellow-citizens, more than of their enemies; and after he came to the empire lived not to perfect the frame of ſuch a government, or atchieve ſuch conqueſts as he ſeems to have had in deſign.

Theſe four great monarchies, with the ſmaller kingdoms, principalities, and ſtates that were ſwallowed up by their conqueſts and extent, make the ſubject of what is called ancient ſtory, and are ſo excellently related by the many Greek and Latin authors ſtill extant and in common vogue, ſo commented, enlarged, reduced into order of time and place, by many more of the modern writers, that they are known to all men who profeſs to ſtudy or entertain themſelves with reading. The orders and inſtitutions of theſe ſeveral governments, their progreſs and duration, their ſucceſſes or decays, their events and revolutions, make the common themes of ſchools and colleges, the ſtudy of learned, and the converſation of idle men, the arguments of hiſtories, poems, and romances. From the actions and fortunes of thoſe princes and lawgivers are drawn the common examples of virtue and honour, the reproaches of vice, which are illuſtrated by the felicities or misfortunes that attend them. From the events and revolutions of theſe governments are drawn the uſual inſtructions of princes and ſtateſmen, and the diſcourſes and reflections of the greateſt wits

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and writers upon the politics. From the orders and inſtitutions, the laws and cuſtoms of theſe empires and ſtates, the ſages of law and of juſtice, in all countries, endeavour to deduce the very common laws of nature and of nations, as well as the particular civil or municipal of kingdoms and provinces. From theſe they draw their arguments and precedents in all diſputes concerning the pretended excellencies or defaults of the ſeveral ſorts of governments that are extolled or decried, accuſed or defended; concerning the rights of war and peace, of invaſion and defence between ſovereign princes, as well as of authority and obedience, of prerogative and liberty, in civil contentions.

Yet the ſtage of all theſe empires, and revolutions of all theſe heroic actions, and theſe famous conſtitutions (how great or how wiſe ſoever any of them are eſteemed) is but a limited compaſs of earth, that leaves out many vaſt regions of the world, the which, though accounted barbarous, and little taken notice of in ſtory, or by any celebrated authors, yet have a right to come in for their voice, in agreeing upon the laws of nature and nations (for aught I know) as well as the reſt that have arrogated it wholly to themſelves; and beſides, in my opinion, there are ſome of them, that, upon enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others in the wiſdom of their conſtitutions, the extent of their conqueſts, and the duration of their empires or ſtates.

The famous ſcene of the four great monarchies was that midland part of the world, which was bounded on the eaſt by the river Indus, and on the weſt by the Atlantic ocean; on the north by the river Oxus, the Caſpian and the Euxine ſeas, and the Danube; on the ſouth by the mountain Atlas, Ethiopia, Arabia, and from thence to the mouth of Indus, by the ſouthern ocean.

It is true, that Semiramis and Alexander are ſaid to have conquered India; but the firſt ſeems only to have ſubdued ſome parts of it that lie upon the borders of that river; and Alexander's atchievements there ſeem rather like a journey than a conqueſt; and though he pierced through the country, from Indus to Ganges, yet he left even undiſcovered the greateſt parts of that mighty region, which by the ancients was reported to contain an hundred and eighteen great and populous nations, and which, for aught I know, were never conquered but by the Tartars.

I reckon neither Scythia nor Arabia for parts of that ancient ſcene of action and ſtory; for, though Cyrus and Darius entered the firſt, yet they ſoon left it, one with loſs of his honour, and the other of his life. And for Arabia, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well diſcovered or ſurveyed; nor much more know, than by the commerce of their ſpices and perfumes; I mean that part of it which is called Arabia Felix, and is environed on three ſides by the ſea; for the northern ſkirts, that join to Syria, have entered into the conqueſts or commerce of the four great empires; but that which ſeems to have ſecured the other is the ſtony and ſandy deſarts, through which no armies can paſs for want of water.

Now, if we conſider the map of the world, as it lies at preſent before us, ſince the diſcoveries made by the navigations of theſe three laſt centuries, we ſhall eaſily find what vaſt regions there are which have been left out of that ancient ſcene on all ſides: and though paſſing for barbarous, they have not been eſteemed worth the pens of any good authors, and are known only by common and poor relations of traders, ſeamen, or travellers; yet, by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that ſome of theſe out-lying parts of the world, however unknown by the ancients, and overlooked by the modern learned, may yet have afforded

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as much matter of action and ſpeculation, as the other ſcene ſo much celebrated in ſtory; I mean not only in their vaſt extent, and variety of ſoils and climates, with their natural productions, but even in the excellent conſtitutions of laws and cuſtoms, the wiſe and laſting foundations of ſtates and empires, and the mighty flights of conqueſts that have riſen from ſuch orders and inſtitutions.

Now, becauſe the firſt ſcene is ſuch a beaten road, and this ſo little known or traced, I am content to take a ſhort ſurvey of our four great ſchemes of government or empire that have ſprung and grown to mighty heights, lived very long, and flouriſhed much in theſe remote (and, as we will have it, more ignoble) regions of the world; whereof one is at the fartheſt degree of our eaſtern longitude, being the kingdom of China. The next is at the fartheſt weſtern, which is that of Peru. The third is the outmoſt of our northern latitude, which is Scythia or Tartary. And the fourth is Arabia, which lies very far upon the ſouthern.

For that vaſt continent of Africa that extends between mount Atlas and the ſouthern ocean, though it be found to ſwarm in people, to abound in gold, to contain many great kingdoms, and infinite ſmaller principalities, to be pierced by thoſe two famous rivers of the Nile and the Niger, to produce a race of men that ſeem hardly of the ſame ſpecies with the reſt of mankind; yet I cannot find any traces of that heroic virtue that may entitle them to any ſhare in this eſſay. For whatever remains in ſtory of Atlas, or his kingdom of old, is ſo obſcured with age or fables, that it may go along with thoſe of the Atlantic iſlands; though I know not whether theſe themſelves were by Solon or Plato intended for fables or no, or for relations they had met with among the Egyptian prieſts, and which perhaps were by them otherwiſe eſteemed.

SECT. II.

THE great and ancient kingdom of China is bounded to the eaſt and ſouth by the ocean, to the north by a ſtone wall of twelve hundred miles long, raiſed againſt the invaſion of the Tartars; and to the weſt by vaſt and unpaſſable mountains or deſarts, which the labour or curioſity of no mortal man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any account of. When Alexander would have paſſed the river Ganges, he was told by the Indians that nothing beyond it was inhabited, and that all was either impaſſable marſhes, lying between great rivers, or ſandy deſarts, or ſteep mountains, full only of wild beaſts, but wholly deſtitute of mankind. So as Ganges was eſteemed by ancients the bound of the eaſtern world, ſince the uſe of the compaſs, and extent of navigation, it is found that there are ſeveral populous kingdoms lie between Ganges and the deſarts or mountains that divide them from China; as Pegu, Siam, Cirote, and others lie in this ſpace, coaſting along the borders of great rivers northwards, which are ſaid to run about the length of Indus and Ganges, and all of them to riſe from one mighty lake in the mountains of Tartary. But from none of theſe kingdoms is known any other way of paſſage or commerce into China than by ſea.

From Indoſtan, or the Mogul's country, there is none other uſual; and ſuch as travel from thence by land are forced to go many degrees northward before they turn to the eaſt, to paſs many ſavage kingdoms or countries of the Tartars, to travel through vaſt ſandy deſarts, and other prodigious high and ſteep mountains, where no carriage or beaſt is able to paſs, but only men on foot; and over one mountain par-

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ticularly, eſteemed the higheſt in the world, where the air is ſo thin, that men cannot travel over it without danger of their lives; and never in ſummer without being poiſoned by the ſcent of certain herbs that grow upon it, which is mortal when they are in flower. After eight or nine months journey from the Mogul's court, ſeveral perſons have travelled this way, till they came to the wall that defends or divides China from Tartary, and ſo to the imperial city of Peking, ſituate in the northern parts of this mighty region, which the Chineſes call a world by itſelf, and eſteem themſelves the only reaſonable and civilized people, having no neighbours on three ſides, and to the north only the Tartars, whom they eſteem but another ſort of wild or brutiſh men; and therefore they ſay in common proverb, that the Chineſes only ſee with two eyes, and all other men but with one.

By this ſituation, and by a cuſtom or law very ancient among them, of ſuffering no ſtranger to come into their country, or, if they do, not permitting him to go out, or return any more to his own, this vaſt continent continued very long, and wholly unknown to the reſt of the world; and, foraſmuch as I can find, was firſt diſcovered to us by Paulus Venetus, who about four hundred years ago made a voyage from Venice through Armenia, Perſia, and ſeveral parts of Tartary, to that which he names the kingdom of Cataya, and to the famous city of Cambalu (as he calls them) and, after ſeventeen years reſidence of his father and himſelf in that court of the great cham, returned to Venice and left the world a large account of this voyage.

Since his time, and within two or three hundred years, ſeveral miſſionary friers and jeſuits have, upon devotion or command of their ſuperiors, pierced with infinite pains and dangers through theſe vaſt and ſavage regions, ſome from the Mogul's country, ſome

through Armenia and Perſia, and arrived at Peking; which I make no queſtion (by comparing all their ſeveral accounts and relations) is the ſame famous city that is called Cambalu by Paulus Venetus, ſeated in the northern provinces of China, which is by him called Cataya. The reaſon of this difference in names was, that when Paulus Venetus was there, the cham of Eaſt Tartary, called Cataya, had poſſeſſed himſelf by conqueſt of ſeveral northern provinces of China, as well as that of Peking, where he made his reſidence, and which was like the reſt of his empire called Cataya, and the chief city Cambalu, by a Tartar name. After ſome time all theſe provinces were again recovered by the Chineſes from the Tartars, and returned to their old Chineſe appellations; and the king of China, who then expelled the Tartars, fixed the ſeat of his empire at Peking (which had been formerly at Nanking and at Quinſay) that the force of his armies, lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that frontier againſt the furious invaſions of the Tartars, whereof they had ſeveral times felt the rage and danger.

After this recovery, China continued in peace, and proſperous under their own emperors, till about the year 1616, when the Tartars again invaded them, and after a long and bloody war of above thirty years, in the end made themſelves abſolute maſters of the whole kingdom, and ſo it has ever ſince continued.

This region, commonly known by the name of China, extends about eighteen hundred miles, or thirty degrees of northern and ſouthern latitude. It is not eſteemed ſo much of longitude; but this is more uncertain, the journey through the whole country from eaſt to weſt having not, that I find, been ever performed by any European; and the accounts taken only from report of the natives. Nor is it eaſily agreed where the habitable parts of China determine weſtward, ſince ſome authors ſay, they end in

mountains

mountains ſtored only with wild beaſts and wild men, that have neither laws nor language, nor other commerce with the Chineſes, than by deſcents ſometimes made upon them for rapines or for rapes: and other authors ſay, there are ſuch inacceſſible mountains even in the midſt of China, ſo as the firſt accounts may have left out great countries beyond theſe mountains, which they took for the utmoſt border of this kingdom.

Whatever length it has, which by none is eſteemed leſs than twelve or thirteen hundred miles, it muſt be allowed to be the greateſt, richeſt, and moſt populous kingdom now known in the world; and will perhaps be found to owe its riches, force, civility, and felicity, to the admirable conſtitution of its government, more than any other.

This empire conſiſts of fifteen ſeveral kingdoms, which at leaſt have been ſo of old, though now governed as provinces by their ſeveral viceroys, who yet live in greatneſs, ſplendor, and riches, equal to the great and ſovereign kings. In the whole kingdom are one hundred and forty-five capital cities, of mighty extent and magnificent building, and one thouſand three hundred and twenty-one leſſer cities, but all walled round; the number of villages is infinite, and no country in the known world ſo full of inhabitants, nor ſo improved by agriculture, by infinite growth of numerous commodities, by canals of incredible length, conjunctions of rivers, convenience of ways for the tranſportation of all ſorts of goods and commodities from one province to another, ſo as no country has ſo great trade, though till very lately they never had any but among themſelves; and what there is now foreign among them is not driven by the Chineſes going out of their country to manage it, but only by the permiſſion of the Portugueſes and Dutch to come and trade in ſome ſkirts of their ſouthern provinces.

For teſtimonies of their greatneſs, I ſhall only add what is agreed of their famous wall, and of their city Peking. The ſtone-wall, which divides the northern parts of China from Tartary, is reckoned by ſome twelve, by others nine hundred miles long, running over rocks and hills, through marſhes and deſarts, and making way for rivers by mighty arches. It is forty-five foot high, and twenty foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain ſpaces by great towers. It was built above two thouſand years ago, but with ſuch admirable architecture, that, where ſome gaps have not been broken down by the Tartars upon their irruptions, the reſt is ſtill as entire as when it was firſt built. The king that raiſed this wall appointed a million of ſoldiers, who were liſted and paid, for the defence of it againſt the Tartars, and took their turns by certain numbers at certain times, for the guard of this frontier.

The imperial city of Peking is nothing ſo large as ſeveral other cities of China (whereof Nanking is eſteemed the greateſt) but is a regular four-ſquare; the wall of each ſide is ſix miles in length; in each of theſe ſides are three gates, and on each ſide of each gate are great palaces or forts for the guards belonging to them, which are a thouſand men to each gate. The ſtreets run quite croſs, with a thorough view and paſſage from each gate to that which is over againſt it in the oppoſite ſide; and theſe ſtreets are ranged full of ſtately houſes.

The palace of the emperor is three miles in compaſs, conſiſting of three courts, one within the other, whereof the laſt (where the emperor lodges) is four hundred paces ſquare; the other two are filled with his domeſtics, officers, and guards to the number of ſixteen thouſand perſons. Without theſe courts are large and delicious gardens, many artificial rocks and hills, ſtreams of rivers drawn into ſeveral canals

faced

faced with ſquare ſtone, and the whole atchieved with ſuch admirable invention, coſt, and workmanſhip, that nothing ancient or modern ſeems to come near it; and all ſerved with ſuch magnificence, order, and ſplendor, that the audience of a foreign ambaſſador, at Peking, ſeems a ſight as great and noble as one of the triumphs at Rome.

As other nations are uſually diſtinguiſhed into Noble and Plebeian, ſo that of China may be diſtinguiſhed into Learned and Illiterate. The laſt makes up the body and maſs of the people who are governed, the firſt comprehends all the magiſtrates that govern, and thoſe who may in time or courſe ſucceed them in the magiſtracy; for no other than the learned are ever employed in the government, nor any in the greateſt charges, that are not of thoſe ranks or degrees of learning that make them termed ſages, or philoſophers, or doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this government of China is, and what the perſons employed in it, there will be a neceſſity of knowing what their learning is, and how it makes them fit for government, very contrary to what ours in Europe is obſerved to do, and the reaſon of ſuch different effects from the ſame cauſe.

The two great heroes of the Chineſe nation were Fohu and Confuchu, whoſe memories have always continued among them ſacred and adored. Fohu lived about four thouſand years ago, and was the firſt founder of their kingdom; the progreſs whereof has ever ſince continued upon their records ſo clear, that they are ſteemed by the miſſionary jeſuits unqueſtionable and infallible. For, after the death of every king, the ſucceſſor appoints certain perſons to write the memorable actions of his predeceſſor's reign, and of theſe an epitome is afterwards drawn and entered into their regiſters. Fohu firſt reduced them from the common original lives of mankind, introduced agri-

culture,

culture, wedlock, diſtinction of ſexes by different habits, laws, and orders of government: he invented characters, and left ſeveral ſhort tables or writings of aſtronomy or obſervations of the heavens, of morality, of phyſic, and political government. The characters he uſed ſeem to have been partly ſtrait lines of different lengths, and diſtinguiſhed by different points, and partly hieroglyphics; and theſe in time were followed by characters, of which each expreſſed one word.

In theſe ſeveral ways were for many centuries compoſed many books among the Chineſes, in many ſorts of learning, eſpecially natural and moral philoſophy, aſtronomy, aſtrology, phyſic, and agriculture.

Something above two thouſand years ago lived Confuchu, the moſt learned, wiſe, and virtuous of all the Chineſes; and for whom both the king and magiſtrates in his own age, and all of them in the ages ſince, ſeem to have had the greateſt deference that has any where been rendered to any mortal man. He writ many tracts, and in them digeſted all the learning of the ancients, even from the firſt writing or tables of Fohu, at leaſt all that he thought neceſſary or uſeful to mankind in their perſonal, civil, or political capacities; which were then received and ſince proſecuted with ſo great eſteem and veneration, that none has queſtioned whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the trueſt and beſt rules of opinion and life; ſo that it is enough in all argument that Confuchu has ſaid it.

Some time after lived a king, who, to raiſe a new period of time from his own name and reign, endeavoured to aboliſh the memory of all that had paſſed before him, and cauſed all books to be burnt, except thoſe of phyſic and agriculture. Out of this ruin to learning eſcaped, either by chance, or ſome private induſtry, the epitomes or regiſters of the ſeveral ſucceſ-

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ſions of their kings ſince Fohu, and the works of Confuchu, or at leaſt a part of them, which have lately in France been printed in the Latin tongue, with a learned preface, by ſome of the miſſionary jeſuits, under the title of the Works of Confucius.

After the death of this tyrannous and ambitious king, theſe writings came abroad, and, being the only remainders of the ancient Chineſe learning, were received with general applauſe, or rather veneration: four learned men, having long addicted themſelves to the ſtudy of theſe books, writ four ſeveral tracts or comments upon them; and one of the ſucceeding kings made a law, that no other learning ſhould be taught, ſtudied, or exerciſed, but what was extracted out of theſe five books; and ſo learning has ever ſince continued in China, wholly confined to the writings of thoſe five men, or rather to thoſe of their prince of philoſophers, the great and renowned Confucius.

The ſum of his writings ſeem to be a body or digeſtion of ethics, that is, of all moral virtues, either perſonal, œconomical, civil, or political, and framed for the inſtitution and conduct of men's lives, their families, and their governments, but chiefly of the laſt: the bent of his thoughts and reaſonings running up and down this ſcale, that no people can be happy but under good governments, and no governments happy but over good men; and that for the felicity of mankind, all men in a nation, from the prince to the meaneſt peaſant, ſhould endeavour to be good, and wiſe, and virtuous, as far as his own thoughts, the precepts of others, or the laws of his country can inſtruct him.

The chief principle he ſeems to lay down for a foundation, and builds upon, is, that every man ought to ſtudy and endeavour the improving and perfecting of his own natural reaſon to the greateſt height he is capable, ſo as he may never (or as ſeldom as can be)

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err and ſwerve from the law of nature in the courſe and conduct of his life: that this, being not to be done without much thought, enquiry, and diligence, makes ſtudy and philoſophy neceſſary; which teaches men what is good and what is bad, either in its own nature or for theirs; and conſequently what is to be done, and what is to be avoided, by every man in his ſeveral ſtation or capacity. That in this perfection of natural reaſon conſiſts the perfection of body and mind, and the utmoſt or ſupreme happineſs of mankind; that the means and rules to attain this perfection are chiefly not to will or deſire any thing but what is conſonant to his natural reaſon, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the good and happineſs of other men, as well as our own. To this end is preſcribed the conſtant courſe and practice of the ſeveral virtues, known and agreed ſo generally in the world; among which, courteſy or civility and gratitude are cardinal with them. In ſhort, the whole ſcope of all Confucius has writ ſeems aimed only at teaching men to live well, and to govern well; how parents, maſters, and magiſtrates ſhould rule, and how children, ſervants, and ſubjects ſhould obey.

All this, with the many particular rules and inſtructions, for either perſonal, œconomical, or political wiſdom and virtue, is diſcourſed by him with great compaſs of knowledge, excellence of ſenſe, reach of wit, and illuſtrated with elegance of ſtyle, and aptneſs of ſimilitudes and examples, as may be eaſily conceived by any that can allow for the lameneſs and ſhortneſs of tranſlations out of language and manners of writing infinitely differing from ours. So as the man appears to have been of a very extraordinary genius, of mighty learning, admirable virtue, excellent nature, a true patriot of his country, and lover of mankind.

This

This is the learning of the Chineſes, and all other ſorts are either diſuſed or ignoble among them; all that which we call ſcholaſtic or polemic, is unknown or unpractiſed, and ſerves, I fear, among us, for little more than to raiſe doubts and diſputes, heats and feuds, animoſities and factions in all controverſies of religion or government. Even aſtrology and phyſic, and chemiſtry, are but ignoble ſtudies, though there are many among them that excel in all theſe; and the aſtrologers are much in vogue among the vulgar, as well as their predictions; the chemiſts apply themſelves chiefly to the ſearch of the univerſal medicine for health and length of life, pretending to make men immortal, if they can find it out: the phyſicians excel in the knowledge of the pulſe, and of all ſimple medicines, and go little further; but in the firſt are ſo ſkilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it how many hours or days a ſick man can laſt, but how many years a man in perfect ſeeming health may live, in caſe of no accident or violence; and by ſimples they pretend to relieve all diſeaſes that nature will allow to be cured. They never let blood, but ſay, if the pot boils too faſt, there is no need of lading out any of the water, but only of taking away the fire from under it; and ſo they allay all heats of the blood by abſtinence, diet, and cooling herbs.

But all this learning is ignoble and mechanical among them, and the Confucian only eſſential and incorporate to their government; into which none enters without having firſt paſſed through the ſeveral degrees. To attain it, is firſt neceſſary the knowledge of their letters or characters; and to this muſt be applied at leaſt ten or twelve years ſtudy and diligence, and twenty for great perfection in it: for by all I can gather out of ſo many authors as have written of China, they have no letters at all, but only ſo many characters expreſſing ſo many words; theſe are ſaid by ſome to be

be ſixty, by others eighty, and by others ſixſcore thouſand; and upon the whole, their writings ſeem to me to be like that of ſhort-hand among us, in caſe there were a different character invented for every word in our language. Their writing is neither from the left-hand to the right like the European, nor from right to left like the Aſiatic languages, but from top to bottom of the paper in one ſtraight line, and then beginning again at the top till the ſide be full.

The learning of China therefore conſiſts firſt in the knowledge of their language, and next in the learning, ſtudy, and practice of the writings of Confucius and his four great diſciples; and as every man grows more perfect in both theſe, ſo he is more eſteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read Confucius, unleſs it be diſcovered by retaining the principal parts of him in their memories, and the practice of him in their lives.

The learned among them are promoted by three degrees; the firſt may reſemble that of ſophiſters in our colleges after two or three years ſtanding; and this degree is conferred by public examiners appointed for that purpoſe, who go through the chief cities of each province once a year, and, upon ſcrutiny, admit ſuch of the candidates as they approve to this degree, regiſter their names, and give them a badge belonging to this firſt form of the learned.

The ſecond degree is promoted with more form, and performed once in three years, in a great college built for that purpoſe in the chief city of each kingdom, by ſeveral examiners appointed by the king, and ſtrict enquiries and queſtions both of language and learning, and much critic upon the ſeveral writings, produced by the ſeveral pretenders, and ſubmitted to the examiners. This degree may reſemble that of maſters of arts in our colleges, and is conferred with a new badge belonging to it.

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The third degree may be compared to that of doctors among us in any of our ſciences, and is never conferred but in the imperial city of Peking, with great forms and ſolemnities, after much examining, and deliberation of the perſons appointed for that purpoſe; and of this degree there are never to be above three hundred at a time in the whole empire, beſides ſuch as are actually in the magiſtracy or government, who are all choſen out of the perſons that have commenced or attained this degree of learning. Upon the taking each degree they repair to a temple of Confucius, which is erected in each city, and adjoins to the colleges, and there they perform the worſhip and ceremonies appointed in honour of his memory, as the great prince or hero of the learned.

Of theſe perſons all their councils and all their magiſtracies are compoſed; out of theſe are choſen all their chief officers and mandarines, both civil and military. With theſe the emperors and viceroys of provinces and generals of armies adviſe upon all great occaſions; and their learning and virtue make them eſteemed more able for the execution and diſcharge of all public employments than the longeſt practice and experience in other countries; and, when they come into armies, they are found braver and more generous in expoſing their lives upon all great occaſions, than the boldeſt ſoldiers of their troops.

Now for the government, it is abſolute monarchy, there being no other laws in China, but the king's orders and commands; and it is likewiſe hereditary, ſtill deſcending to the next of blood.

But all orders and commands of the king proceed through his councils, and are made upon the recommendation or petition of the council proper and appointed for that affair; ſo that all matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the ſeveral councils; and

and then, upon their advices or requeſt made to the king, they are ratified and ſigned by him, and ſo paſs into laws.

All great offices of ſtate are likewiſe conferred by the king, upon the ſame recommendations or petitions of his ſeveral councils; ſo that none are preferred by the humour of the prince himſelf, nor by favour of any miniſter, by flattery or corruption, but by force or appearance of merit, of learning, and of virtue; which, obſerved by the ſeveral councils, gain their recommendations or petitions to the king.

The chief officers are either thoſe of ſtate, reſiding conſtantly at court, and by whom the whole empire is governed, or the provincial officers, viceroys, and magiſtrates or mandarines: for the firſt, there are, in the imperial city at Peking, ſix ſeveral councils; or, as ſome authors affirm, one great council, that divides itſelf into ſix ſmaller, but diſtinct branches. Some difference is alſo made by writers, concerning the nature or the buſineſs of theſe councils; but that which ſeems moſt generally agreed is, that the firſt of theſe ſix is a council of ſtate, by whom all officers through the whole kingdom are choſen according to their learning and merit. The ſecond is the council of treaſury, which has inſpection into the whole revenue, and the receipts and payments that are made in or out of it. The third takes care of the temples, offerings, feaſts, and ceremonies belonging to them; as likewiſe of learning, and the ſchools or colleges deſigned for it. The fourth is the council of war, which diſpoſes of all military offices and honours, and all matters of war and peace, that is, by the king's command, iſſued upon their repreſentation. The fifth takes care of all the royal or publick buildings, and of their fleets. And the ſixth is a council or court of juſtice or judicature in all cauſes both civil and criminal.

Each

Each of theſe councils has a preſident, and two aſſiſtants or chief ſecretaries, whereof one ſits at his right, and the other on his left-hand, who digeſt and regiſter the debates and orders of the council. And, beſides theſe, there are in each council ten counſellors.

By theſe councils the whole empire of China is governed through all the ſeveral kingdoms that compoſe it; and they have in each province particular officers, intendants, and notaries; from whom they receive conſtant accounts, and to whom they ſend conſtant inſtructions concerning all paſſages or affairs of moment in any of the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom.

There are, beſides theſe ſix, ſeveral ſmaller councils; as one for the affairs of the king's women, for his houſhold, and his domeſtic chancery or juſtice. But above all is the council of the Colaos, or chief miniſters, who are ſeldom above five or ſix in number, but perſons of the moſt conſummate prudence and experience, who after having paſſed, with great applauſe, through the other councils or governments of provinces, are at laſt advanced to this ſupreme dignity, and ſerve as a privy council, or rather a junto, ſitting with the emperor himſelf; which is allowed to none of the others. To theſe are preſented all the reſults or requeſts of the other councils; and being, by their advice, approved, they are by the emperor ſigned and ratified, and ſo diſpatched.

Theſe are always attended by ſome of the chiefeſt and moſt renowned philoſophers or ſages of the kingdom, who attend the emperor, and ſerve him in receiving all petitions, and give their opinions upon them to the emperor or the Colaos; as alſo upon any matters of great moment and difficulty, when they are conſulted: and theſe are choſen out of two aſſemblies reſiding at Peking, and conſiſting of ſixty men each; but all choice perſons, whoſe wiſdom and virtue are

generally known and applauded. They are employed in all matters of learning, and giving neceſſary orders therein; keeping all the public writings, and ordering and digeſting them; regiſtering all laws and orders of ſtate; and out of theſe are appointed, by each ſucceeding king, ſome perſons to relate and regiſter the times and actions of his predeceſſor. They are at their leiſure much given to poetry; in which they compile the praiſes of virtuous men and actions, ſatires againſt vice, inſcriptions for monuments and triumphal arches, and ſuch like compoſitions. And laſtly, out of theſe (as they grow in eſteem and fame of wiſdom and virtue) are choſen and advanced by degrees the officers of ſtate, and counſellors in the ſeveral councils; and none ever arrives to be a colao, that has not been one of theſe two aſſemblies.

Each particular kingdom of the empire has the ſame councils, or ſome very like them, for the government of that particular province; but there is beſides in each a ſuperintendent, ſent more immediately from court, to inſpect the courſe of affairs; a cenſor of juſtice and manners, without whoſe approval no capital ſentences are to be executed; and a third officer employed by the empreſs, in the nature of an almoner, whoſe buſineſs is only that of charity, and relief of the poor and diſtreſſed, and ſetting free priſoners upon ſmall debts or offences; there is, beſides, in each province, a particular council to take care of learning, and to appoint rules and examiners for the ſeveral degrees thereof.

It were endleſs to enumerate all the excellent orders of this ſtate, which ſeem contrived by a reach of ſenſe and wiſdom beyond what we meet with in any other government of the world; but, by ſome few, the reſt may be judged.

Each prince of the royal blood has a revenue aſſigned him, and a city where he is bound to reſide, and

and never to ſtir out of it without the emperor's leave. All degrees of people are diſtinguiſhed by their habit, and the ſeveral officers by ſeveral badges upon them: and the colour worn by the emperor, which is yellow, is never uſed by any other perſon whatſoever. Every houſe has a board over the door, wherein is written the number, ſex, and quality of the perſons living in it; and to a certain number of houſes one is appointed to inſpect the reſt, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear office in any province where he was born, unleſs it be military; which is grounded upon the belief, that in matters of juſtice men will be partial to their friends, but in thoſe of war men will fight beſt for their own country. None ever continues in any office above three years, unleſs upon a new election; and none, put out for miſcarriage in his office, is again admitted to any employment. The two great hinges of all governments, reward and puniſhment, are no where turned with greater care, nor exerciſed with more bounty and ſeverity. Their juſtice is rigorous upon all offences againſt the law, but none more exemplary than upon corruption in judges. Beſides this, inquiſition is made into their ignorance and weakneſs, and even into careleſneſs and raſhneſs in their ſentences; and, as the firſt is puniſhed with death, ſo theſe are with diſmiſſion and diſgrace. The rewards of honour (beſides thoſe of advancement) are conferred by patents from the emperor, expreſſing merits and granting privileges, by pillars of marble with elegant and honorary inſcriptions; and to merit extraordinary towards the prince and country, even by erecting temples, offering incenſe, and appointing prieſts for the ſervice of them. Agriculture is encouraged by ſo many ſpecial privileges from the crown, and the common laws or cuſtoms of the country, that whatever wars happen, the tillers of the ground are untouched, as if they were

ſacred, like prieſts in other places; ſo as no country in the world was ever known to be ſo cultivated as the whole kingdom of China. Honour and reſpect is no where paid to nobility and riches ſo much, as it is here to virtue and learning, which are equally regarded, both by the prince and the people: and the advancement to office of perſons, only for excelling in thoſe qualities, prevents the cankers of envy and faction that corrupt and deſtroy ſo many other governments. Every one ſeeking preferment here, only by merit, attributes to it that of other men. Though the king be the moſt abſolute in the world, ſince there are no other laws in China but what he makes, yet, all matters being firſt digeſted and repreſented by his councils, the humours and paſſions of the prince enter not into the forms or conduct of the government; but his perſonal favours to men or women are diſtributed in the preferments of his houſhold, or out of the vaſt revenue that is particularly applied to it, for ſupport of the greateſt expence and magnificence that appears in any palace of the world. So that it may truly be ſaid, that no king is better ſerved and obeyed, more honoured or rather adored; and no people are better governed, nor with greater eaſe and felicity.

Upon theſe foundations and inſtitutions, by ſuch methods and orders, the kingdom of China ſeems to be framed and policed with the utmoſt force and reach of human wiſdom, reaſon, and contrivance; and in practice to excel the very ſpeculations of other men, and all thoſe imaginary ſchemes of the European wits, the inſtitutions of Xenophon, the republic of Plato, the Utopia's, or Oceana's of our modern writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that conſiders the vaſtneſs, the opulence, the populouſneſs of this region, with the eaſe and facility wherewith it is governed, and the length of time this government has run. The laſt is three times longer than that of the

Aſſyrian monarchy, which was thirteen hundred years, and the longeſt period of any government we meet with in ſtory. The numbers of people and of their forces, the treaſures and revenues of the crown, as well as wealth and plenty of the ſubjects, the magnificence of their public buildings and works, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concuring teſtimonies of Paulus Venetus, Martinius Kercherus, with ſeveral other relations, in Italian, Portugueſe, and Dutch; either by miſſionary friars, or perſons employed thither upon trade, or embaſſies upon that occaſion: yet the whole government is repreſented as a thing managed with as much facility, order, and quiet, as a common family; though ſome writers affirm the number of people in China, before the laſt Tartar wars, to have been above two hundred millions. Indeed the canals cut through the country, or made by conjunctions of rivers, are ſo infinite, and of ſuch lengths, and ſo perpetually filled with boats and veſſels of all kinds, that one writer believes there are near as many people in theſe, and the ſhips wherewith their havens are filled, who live upon the water, as thoſe upon the land.

It is true, that as phyſicians ſay, the higheſt degree of health in a body ſubjects it to the greateſt danger and violence of ſome diſeaſe; ſo the perfections of this government or conſtitution has had the ſame effect, joined with the accident of their ſituation, upon ſuch a neighbour as the Tartars. For theſe, by the hardneſs and poverty of their country and their lives, are the boldeſt and the fierceſt people in the world, and the moſt enterprizing. On the other ſide, the excellence of the Chineſe wit and government renders them, by great eaſe, plenty, and luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby expoſes them to frequent attempts and invaſions of their ſavage neighbours. Three ſeveral times upon their records, the Tartars have conquered

great parts of the kingdom of China, and, after long eſtabliſhments there, have been expelled: till (as we ſaid before) about the year 1650, they atchieved the complete and intire conqueſt of the whole empire, after a bloody war of above thirty years. But the force of this conſtitution and government appears in no circumſtance or light ſo great as in this, that it has waded ſafe through ſo great tempeſts and inundations, as ſix changes of race among their kings by civil wars, and four conqueſts by foreign and barbarous forces. For, under the preſent Tartar kings, the government continues ſtill the ſame, and in the hands of the Chineſe learned; and all the change that appears to have been made by ſuch a ſtorm or revolution, has been only, that a Tartar race ſits in the throne inſtead of a Chineſe; and the cities and ſtrong places are garriſoned by Tartar ſoldiers, who fall, by degrees, into the manners, cuſtoms, and language of the Chineſes. So great a reſpect, or rather veneration, is paid to this wiſe and admirable conſtitution, even by its enemies and invaders, that both civil uſurpers and foreign conquerors vie with emulation, who ſhall make greateſt court, and give moſt ſupport to it, finding no other means to ſecure their own ſafety and eaſe, by the obedience of the people, than the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of their ancient conſtitutions and government.

The great idea which may be conceived of the Chineſe wiſdom and knowledge, as well as their wit, ingenuity, and civility, by all we either read or ſee of them, is apt to be leſſened by their groſs and ſottiſh idolatry; but this itſelf is only among the vulgar or illiterate, who worſhip, after their manner, whatever idols belong to each city, or village, or family; and the temples, and prieſts belonging to them, are in uſual requeſt among the common people and the women. But the learned adore the ſpirit of the world,

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which they hold to be eternal; and this without temples, idols, or prieſts. And the emperor only is allowed to ſacrifice at certain times, by himſelf or his officers, at two temples in the two imperial cities of Peking and Nanking; one dedicated to heaven, and the other to the earth.

This I mention, to ſhew how the furtheſt eaſt and weſt may be found to agree in notions of divinity, as well as in excellence of civil or politic conſtitutions, by paſſing at one leap from theſe of China to thoſe of Peru.

SECT. III.

IT is known enough, that, about the year 1484, Alonzo Sanchez, maſter of a Spaniſh veſſel, that uſually traded from thoſe coaſts to the Canaries and Maderas, was in his paſſage between theſe iſlands ſurprized with a furious ſtorm at eaſt, ſo violent, that he was forced to let his ſhip drive before it without any ſail; and ſo black, that within twenty-eight days he could not take the height of the ſun. That he was at length caſt upon a ſhore, but whether iſland or continent he could not tell, but full of ſavage people. That after infinite toils, dangers, and miſeries of hunger and ſickneſs, he made at length one of the Tercera iſlands, with only five men left of ſeventeen he carried out; and, meeting there with the famous Columbo, made him ſuch relations, and ſo pertinent accounts of his voyage, as gave occaſion for the diſcovery of America, or the Weſt-Indies, by this man ſo renowned in our modern ſtory.

Whatever predictions have been ſince found out, or applied towards the diſcovery of this new world, or ſtories told of a certain prince in Wales having run the ſame fortune, or of the ancient Carthaginians; I do

not find, by all that I have read upon this ſubject, any reaſon to believe, that any mortals, from Europe or Africa, had ever traced thoſe unknown paths of that weſtern ocean, or left the leaſt footſteps of having diſcovered thoſe countries, before Alonzo Sanchez and his crew. Upon the arrival of the Spaniards there with Columbus, they found nature as naked as the inhabitants; in moſt parts no thought of buſineſs, further than the moſt natural pleaſures or neceſſities of life; nations divided by natural bounds of rivers, rocks, or mountains, or difference of language; quarrels among them, only for hunger or luſt; the command in wars given to the ſtrongeſt or the braveſt; and in peace taken up or exerciſed by the boldeſt among them; and their lives commonly ſpent in the moſt innocent entertainments of hunting, fiſhing, feaſting, or in the moſt careleſs leiſure.

There were among them many principalities, that ſeemed to have grown up from the original of paternal dominion, and ſome communities with orders and laws; but the two great dominions were thoſe of Mexico and Peru, which had arrived to ſuch extent of territory, power, and riches, that amazed thoſe who had been enough acquainted with the greatneſs and ſplendor of the European kingdoms. And I never met with any ſtory ſo entertaining, as the relations of the ſeveral learned Spaniſh jeſuits and others, concerning theſe countries and people in their native innocence and ſimplicity. Mexico was ſo vaſt an empire, that it was well repreſented by the common anſwer of the Indians, all along that coaſt, to the Spaniards, when they came to any part, and aſked the people whether they were under Montezuma, Quien noes eſclavo de Montezuma? Or, Who is not a ſlave of Montezuma? as if they thought the whole world were ſo. They might truly call it ſlave, for no dominion was ever ſo abſolute, ſo tyrannous, and ſo cruel as his. Among other

other tributes impoſed on the people, one was of men to be ſacrificed every year to an ugly deformed idol in the great temple of Mexico. Such numbers as the king pleaſed of poor victims were laid upon ſuch extents of cities or villages, or number of inhabitants, and there choſen by lot, to ſatisfy ſuch bloody and inhuman taxes. Theſe were often influenced by the prieſts, who, when they ſaw a man grow negligent, either in reſpect to themſelves, or devotion to their idols, would ſend to tell the king, that the gods were hungry, and thereupon the common tribute was raiſed; ſo as, that year the Spaniards landed and invaded Mexico, there had been above thirty thouſand men ſacrificed to this cruel ſuperſtition. And this was ſaid to have given great occaſion for the eaſy conqueſts of the Spaniards, by the eaſy revolts and ſubmiſſions of the natives, to any new dominions.

The ſame was obſerved to happen in Peru by the general hatred and averſion of the people in that empire to Atahualpa, who, being a baſtard of the Ynca's family, had firſt by practices and ſubtlety, and afterwards by cruelty and violence, raiſed himſelf to the throne of Peru, and cut off with mercileſs cruelty all the maſculine race of the true royal blood that were at man's eſtate, or near it, after that line had laſted pure and ſacred, and reigned with unſpeakable felicity both to themſelves and their ſubjects for above eight hundred years.

This kingdom is ſaid to have extended near ſeven hundred leagues in length, from north to ſouth, and about an hundred and twenty in breadth: it is bounded on the weſt by the Pacific ocean; on the eaſt by mountains impaſſable for men or beaſts, and, as ſome write, even birds themſelves; the height being ſuch, as makes their tops always covered with ſnow, even in that warm region. On the north it is bounded with a great river, and on the ſouth with another, which

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ſeparates it from the province of Chili, that reaches to the Magellan ſtraits.

The kingdom of Peru deduced its original from their great heroes, Mango Copac, and his wife and ſiſter Coya Mama, who are ſaid to have firſt appeared in that country, near a mighty lake, which is ſtill ſacred with them upon this occaſion.

Before this time, the people of theſe countries are reported to have lived like the beaſts among them, without any traces of orders, laws, or religion, without other food than from the trees or the herbs, or what game they could catch, without further proviſion than for preſent hunger, without any clothing or houſes; but dwelt in rocks, or caves, or trees, to be ſecure from wild beaſts, or in tops of hills, if they were in fear of fierce neighbours. When Mango Copac and his ſiſter came firſt into theſe naked lands, as they were perſons of excellent ſhape and beauty, ſo they were adorned with ſuch cloaths as continued afterwards the uſual habit of the Ynca's, by which name they called themſelves. They told the people who came firſt about them, that they were the ſon and daughter of the ſun, and that their father, taking pity of the miſerable condition of mankind, had ſent them down to reclaim them from thoſe beſtial lives, and to inſtruct them how to live happily and ſafely, by obſerving ſuch laws, cuſtoms, and orders, as their father the ſun had commanded theſe his children to teach them. The great rule they firſt taught was, that every man ſhould live according to reaſon, and conſequently neither ſay nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others ſhould ſay or do to them; becauſe it was againſt all common reaſon to make one law for ourſelves, and another for other people: and this was the great principle of all their morality. In the next place, that they ſhould worſhip the ſun, who took care of the whole world, gave life to all creatures,

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and made the plants grow, and the herbs fit for food to maintain them; and was ſo careful and ſo good as to ſpare no pains of his own, but to go round the world every day to inſpect and provide for all that was upon it, and had ſent theſe his two children down on purpoſe, for the good and happineſs of mankind, and to rule them with the ſame care and goodneſs that he did the world. After this, they taught them the arts moſt neceſſary for life, as Mango Copac, to ſow mayz (or the common Indian grain) at certain ſeaſons, to preſerve it againſt others; to build houſes againſt inclemencies of air and danger of wild beaſts; to diſtinguiſh themſelves by wedlock into ſeveral families; to clothe themſelves, ſo as to cover at leaſt the ſhame of nakedneſs; to tame and nouriſh ſuch creatures as might be of common uſe and ſuſtenance. Coya Mama taught the women to ſpin and weave both cotton, and certain coarſe wools of ſome beaſt among them.

With theſe inſtructions and inventions they were ſo much believed in all they ſaid, and adored for what they did and taught of common utility, that they were followed by great numbers of people, obſerved and obeyed like ſons of the ſun, ſent down from heaven to inſtruct and to govern them. Mango Copac had in his hand a rod of gold about two feet long, and five inches round. He ſaid, that his father, the ſun, had given it him, and bid him, when he travelled northward from the lake, he ſhould, every time he reſted, ſtrike this wand down into the ground, and where at the firſt ſtroke it ſhould go down to the very top, he ſhould there build a temple to the Sun, and fix the ſeat of his government.

This fell out to be in the vale of Cozco, where he founded that city, which was head of this great kingdom of Peru.

Here he divided his company into two colonies or plantations, and called one the High Caſco, and the other

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the Low, and began here to be a lawgiver to thoſe people. In each of theſe were at firſt a thouſand families, which he cauſed all to be regiſtered, with the numbers in each: this he did by ſtrings of ſeveral colours, and knots of ſeveral kinds and colour upon them, by which both accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expreſſed of their minds, as was neceſſary in government, where neither letters nor money, nor conſequently diſputes or avarice, with their conſequences, ever entered.

He inſtituted decurions through both theſe colonies, that is, one over ever ten families, another over fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five hundred, and a fifth over a thouſand; and to this laſt they gave the name of a curaca or governor. Every decurion was a cenſor, a patron, and a judge or arbiter in ſmall controverſies among thoſe under his charge. They took care that every one clothed themſelves, laboured, and lived according to the orders given them by the Ynca's, from their father the Sun; among which one was, that none who could work, ſhould be idle, more than to reſt after labour; and that none, who could not work, by age, ſickneſs, or invalidity, ſhould want, but be maintained by the others pains. Theſe were ſo much obſerved, that in the whole empire of Peru, and during the long race of the Ynca kings, no beggar was ever known; and no women ever ſo much as went to ſee a neighbour, but with their work in their hands, which they followed all the time the viſit laſted. Upon this, I remember a ſtrain of refined civility among them, which was, that when any woman went to ſee another of equal, or ordinary birth, ſhe worked at her own work in the other's houſe; but if ſhe made a viſit to any of the Palla's (which was the name by which they called all the women of the true royal blood, as Ynca's was that of the men) then they immediately deſired the Palla to give them a piece of her

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own work, and the viſit paſſed in working for her. Idleneſs, ſentenced by the decurions, was puniſhed by ſo many ſtripes in publick, and the diſgrace was more ſenſible than the pain. Every colony had one ſupreme judge, to whom the lower decurions remitted great and difficult caſes, or to whom (in ſuch caſe) the criminals appealed: but every decurion that concealed any crime of thoſe under his charge above a day and a night, became guilty of it, and liable to the ſame puniſhment. There were laws or orders likewiſe againſt theft, mutilations, murders, diſobedience to officers, and adulteries (for every man was to have one lawful wife, but had the liberty of keeping other women as he could). The puniſhment of all crimes was either corporal pains or death, but commonly the laſt, upon theſe two reaſons which they gave; firſt, that all crimes, whether great or ſmall, were of the ſame nature, and deſerved the ſame puniſhment, if they were committed againſt the divine commands, which were ſent them down from the Sun: next, that to puniſh any man in his poſſeſſions or charges, and leave them alive, and in ſtrength and liberty, was to leave an ill man more incenſed, or neceſſitated to commit new crimes. On the other ſide, they never forfeited the charge or poſſeſſions of a ſon for his father's offences; but the judges only remonſtrated to him the guilt and puniſhment of them for his warning or example. Theſe orders had ſo great force and effect, that many times a whole year paſſed without the execution of one criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great order in the ſtate, was the diſuſe of other poſſeſſions than what were neceſſary to life, and the eminent virtue of their firſt great hero or legiſlator, which ſeemed to have been entailed upon their whole race, in the courſe of their reign: ſo as in the whole length of it, it is reported among them, that no true

Ynca was ever found guilty or puniſhed for any crime. Thus particular qualities have been obſerved, in old Rome, to be conſtant in the ſame families for ſeveral hundred years, as goodneſs, clemency, love of the people, in that of the Valerii; haughtineſs, pride, cruelty, and hatred of the people, in that of the Appii; which may come from the force of blood, of education, or example. It is certain no government was ever eſtabliſhed and continued by greater examples of virtue and ſeverity, nor any ever gave greater teſtimonies, than the Ynca's, of an excellent inſtitution, by the progreſſes and ſucceſſes, both in the propagation and extent of empire, in force and plenty, in greatneſs and magnificence of all public works, as temples, palaces, highways, bridges, and in all proviſions neceſſary to common eaſe, ſafety, and utility, of human life: ſo as ſeveral of the jeſuits, and particularly Acoſta, are either ſo juſt or ſo preſuming as to prefer the civil conſtitutions of Mango Copac before thoſe of Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, or any other lawgivers ſo celebrated in the more known parts of the world.

To every colony was aſſigned ſuch a compaſs of land, whereof one part was appropriated to the Sun; a ſecond to the widows, orphans, poor, old, or maimed; a third to the peculiar maintenance of every family, according to their number; and a fourth to the Ynca. In this order the whole was tilled, and the harveſt or product laid up in ſeveral granaries, out of which it was diſtributed by officers to that purpoſe, according to the ſeveral uſes for which it was deſigned, and new ſeed iſſued out at the ſeaſon for the new tillage.

Every decurion, beſides the office of a cenſor and judge, had that likewiſe of a patron or ſolicitor, for relief of the neceſſities or wants of thoſe under his charge: they were bound to give in to the public regiſters an account of all that were born, and of all

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that died under their charge. None was ſuffered to leave the colony or people he was born in without leave, nor to change the habit commonly uſed in it (by ſome parts or marks whereof thoſe of each province were diſtinguiſhed). None to marry out of it, no more than the Ynca's out of their own blood.

The Ynca that reigned was called Capa Ynca, which the Spaniards interpret Solo Sennor, or Only Lord. He ever married the firſt of his female kindred, either ſiſter, niece, or couſin, to preſerve the line the pureſt they could. Once in two years he aſſembled all the unmarried Ynca's, men above twenty, and women above ſixteen years old, and there in public married all ſuch as he thought fit, by giving each of their hands one to the other. The ſame was done among the vulgar by the curaca of each people.

Every family, at their time of meals, eat with their doors open, ſo that all might ſee their temperance and order.

By theſe and other ſuch laws and inſtitutions, Mango Copac firſt ſettled his government or kingdom in the colonies of Cozco, which were in time multiplied into many others, by the willing confluence and recourſe of many ſeveral people round about him, allured by the divine authority of his orders, by the ſweetneſs and clemency of his reign, and by the felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole government of this race of the Ynca's was rather like that of a tender father over his children, or a juſt, careful, and well-natured guardian over pupils, than of a lord or commander over ſlaves or ſubjects: by which they came to be ſo honoured or adored, that it was like ſacrilege for any common perſon ſo much as to touch the Ynca without his leave, which was given as a grace to thoſe who ſerved him well, or to new ſubjects that ſubmitted to him.

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After the extent of his kingdom into great compaſſes of territory round Cozco, by voluntary ſubmiſſion of the people, as to ſome evangelical, rather than legal doctrines or inſtitutions; Mango Copac aſſembled all his curacas, and told them, that his father the Sun had commanded him to extend his inſtitutions and orders as far as he was able, for the good and happineſs of mankind; and for that purpoſe, with armed troops to go to thoſe remoter parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their obſervance. That the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would ſubmit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happineſs that was offered him by ſuch divine bounty, but to diſtreſs only ſuch as refuſed, without killing any that did not aſſail them, and then to do it juſtly in their own defence.

For this deſign, he formed and aſſembled troops of men, armed both with offenſive, and chiefly with defenſive weapons. He caſt them into the order of decurions in the ſame manner as he had done families; to every ten men was one officer, another to fifty, another to one hundred, a fourth to five hundred, and a fifth to a thouſand. There was a ſixth over five thouſand, and a ſeventh as a general over ten thouſand; of which number his firſt army was compoſed.

With this and other ſuch armies, he reduced many new territories under his empire, declaring to every people he approached, the ſame thing he had done firſt to thoſe who came about him near the great lake; and offering them the benefit of the arts he had taught, the orders he had inſtituted, the protection he had given his ſubjects, and the felicity they enjoyed under it. Thoſe who ſubmitted were received into the ſame rights and enjoyments with the reſt of his ſubjects: thoſe who refuſed were diſtreſſed, and purſued by his forces till they were neceſſitated to accept of his offers

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and conditions. He uſed no offenſive weapons againſt any till they attacked them, and then defenſive only at firſt, till the danger and ſlaughter of his men grew otherwiſe unavoidable; then he ſuffered his forces to fall upon them, and kill without mercy, and not to ſpare even thoſe that yielded themſelves, after having ſo long and obſtinately reſiſted. Thoſe who ſubmitted after the firſt threats, or diſtreſſes, or bloodleſs oppoſition, he received into grace, ſuffered them to touch his ſacred perſon, made great and common feaſts for them and his own ſoldiers together for ſeveral days, and then incorporated them into the body of his empire, and gave to each of them cloaths to wear, and corn to ſow.

By theſe ways, and ſuch heroic virtues, and by the length of his reign, he ſo far extended his dominions, as to divide them into four provinces, over each whereof he appointed an Ynca to be a viceroy (having many ſons grown fit to command) and in each of them eſtabliſhed three ſupreme councils, the firſt of juſtice, the ſecond of war, and the third of the revenue, of which an Ynca was likewiſe preſident, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored reign, Mango Copac fell into the laſt period of his life; upon the approach whereof he called together all his children and grandchildren, with his eldeſt ſon, to whom he left his kingdom; and told them, that for his own part he was going to repoſe himſelf with his father the ſun, from whom he came; that he adviſed and charged them all to go on in the paths of reaſon and virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the ſame journey; that by this courſe only they would prove themſelves to be true ſons of the ſun, and be as ſuch honoured and eſteemed. He gave the ſame charge more eſpecially and more earneſtly to the Ynca his ſucceſſor, and commanded him to govern his people

according to his example, and the precepts he had received from the ſun; and to do it always with juſtice, mercy, piety, clemency, and care of the poor: and when he the prince ſhould go in time to reſt with his father the ſun, that he ſhould give the ſame inſtructions and exhortations to his ſucceſſor. And this form was accordingly uſed in all the ſucceſſions of the race of the Ynca's, which laſted eight hundred years, with the ſame orders, and the greateſt felicity that could be of any ſtate.

I will ſay nothing of the greatneſs, magnificence, and riches of their buildings, palaces, or temples, eſpecially thoſe of the ſun; of the ſplendor of their court, their triumphs after victories, their huntings and feaſts, their military exerciſes and honours; but, as teſtimonies of their grandeur, mention only two of their highways, whereof one was five hundred leagues, plain and levelled thro' mountains, rocks, and valleys, ſo that a carriage might drive through the whole length without difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or ſquared ſtone, fenced with low walls on each ſide, and ſet with trees, whoſe branches gave ſhade, and the fruits food, to all that paſſed.

I ſhall end this ſurvey of their government with one remark upon their religion, which is, that though the vulgar worſhipped only the ſun, yet the Amauta's, who were their ſages or philoſophers, taught that the ſun was only the great miniſter of Pachacamac, whom they adored in the firſt place, and to whom a great and ſumptuous temple was dedicated. This word is interpreted by the Spaniard, Animador del mundo, or He that animates or enlivens the world; and ſeems to be yet a more refined notion of the deity than that of the Chineſes, who adored the ſpirit and ſoul of the world. By this principle of their religion, as all the others of their government and policy, it muſt, I think, be allowed, that human nature is the ſame in

theſe remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the world: that the different governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great reaches and ſtrength of reaſon and of wiſdom, as any of ours, and ſome of their frames leſs ſubject to be ſhaken by the paſſions, factions, and other corruptions, to which thoſe in the middle ſcene of Europe and Aſia have been ſo often and ſo much expoſed: that the ſame cauſes produce every where the ſame effects; and that the ſame honours and obedience are in all places but conſequences or tributes paid to the ſame heroic virtue, or tranſcendent genius, in what parts ſoever, or under what climates of the world, it fortunes to appear.

SECT. IV.

THE third ſurvey I propoſed to make, in this eſſay upon heroic virtue, was that of the northern region, which lies without the bounds of the Euxine and the Caſpian ſeas, the river Oxus to the eaſt, and the Danube to the weſt, which by the Greeks and Romans was called all by one general name of Scythia, and little known to any princes or ſubjects of the four great monarchies, otherwiſe than by the defeats or diſgraces received in their expeditions againſt theſe fierce inhabitants of thoſe barren countries. Such was the fatal overthrow of Cyrus and his army by the eaſtern Scythians, and the ſhameful flight of Darius from the weſtern.

This vaſt region, which extends from the north-eaſt ocean, that bounds Cataya and China to the north-weſt, that waſhes the coaſts of Norway, Jutland, and ſome northern parts of Germany, though compriſed by the ancients under the common name of Scythia, was diſtinguiſhed into the Aſiatic and the European, which

were divided by the river Tanais, and the mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous nations may be called the eastern Scythians, who lie on that side of the Tanais, or at least the Volga; and those the western that lies on this. Among the first the Massagetæ were the most known or talked of by the ancient writers; and among the last the Getæ and the Sarmatæ. The first is now comprehended under the general name of Great Tartary, and the second under those of the Lesser Tartary, Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark; the two last styling themselves kings of the Goths and Vandals.

How far this vast territory is inhabited northward by any race of mankind, I think, none pretend to know, nor from how remote corners of those frozen mountains some of those fierce nations first crept out, whose force and arms have been so known and felt by all the rest of what was of old called the habitable world.

Whether it be that the course of conquest has run generally from the north to the south, as from the harder upon the softer, or from the poorer upon the richer nations, because men commonly attack with greater fierceness and courage than they defend, being in one spirited by desire, and in the other usually damped by fear, I cannot tell; but certain it is, how celebrated soever the four great monarchies have been by the writings of so many famous authors, who have eternized their fame, and thereby their own, yet there is no part of the world that was ever subject to Assyrian, Persian, Greek, or Roman empires (except perhaps some little islands) that has not been ravaged and conquered by some of those northern nations, whom they reckoned and despised as barbarous; nor where new empires, kingdoms, principalities, or governments have not been by them erected upon the ruins of the old; which may justly mortify the pride of mankind, the depths of their reasonings, the reach of their politics,

tics, the wiſdom of their laws, and force of their diſcipline, and may be allowed for a great and undiſputed triumph of nature over art.

It is agreed in ſtory, that the Scythians conquered the Medes, during the periods of that race in the Aſſyrian empire, and were maſters of Aſia for fifteen years, till they returned home upon domeſtic occaſions; that Cyrus was beaten and ſlain by their fury and revenge under the leading of a woman, whoſe wit and conduct made a great figure in ancient ſtory; that the Romans were defeated by the Parthians, who were of the Scythian race.

But the great hero of the eaſtern Scythians or Tartars I eſteem to have been Tamerlane, and, whether he was ſon of a ſhepherd or a king, to have been the greateſt conqueror that was ever in the world, at leaſt that appears upon any preſent records of ſtory. His atchievements were great upon China, where he ſubdued many provinces, and forced their king to ſuch conditions of a peace, as he was content to impoſe. He made war againſt the Muſcovites with the ſame ſucceſs, and partly by force, partly by conſent, he gained a paſſage through their territories for that vaſt army which he led againſt Bajazet (then the terror of the world). He conquered this proud Turk and his whole empire, as far as the Helleſpont, which he croſſed, and made a viſit to the poor Greek emperor at Conſtantinople, who had ſent to make alliance with him upon his firſt invaſion of Bajazet, at whoſe mercy this prince then almoſt lay, with the ſmall remainders of the Grecian empire. Nothing was greater or more heroical in this victorious Tamerlane, than the faith and honour wherewith he obſerved this alliance with the Greeks; for having been received at Conſtantinople with all the ſubmiſſions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the greatneſs and ſtructure of that noble city, and ſaid, it was fit to make the ſeat

for the empire of the world, and having the offer of it freely made him by the Greeks to poſſeſs it for his own; yet, after many honours exchanged between theſe two princes, he left this city in the freedom, and the Greek emperor in the poſſeſſions he found them, went back into Aſia, and in his return conquered Syria, Perſia, and India, where the great moguls have ever ſince boaſted to be the race of Tamerlane. After all theſe conqueſts, he went home, and paſſed the reſt of his age in his own native kingdom, and died a fair and natural death, which was a ſtrain of felicity, as well as greatneſs, beyond any of the conquerors of the four renowned monarchies of the world. He was, without queſtion, a great and heroic genius, of great juſtice, exact diſcipline, generous bounty, and much piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Chriſtian, Jew, nor Mahometan, and deſerves a nobler character than could be allowed by modern writers to any perſon of a nation ſo unlike themſelves.

The Turks were another race of theſe eaſtern Scythians, their original countries being placed by ſome upon the north-eaſt, by others upon the north-weſt coaſt of the Caſpain ſea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furniſh ſuch numbers as have over-run ſo great a part of Europe, Aſia, and Africa. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of them and their conqueſts in the next ſection.

That part of Scythia that lies between the two rivers of the Volga and Boriſthenes, whereof the one runs into the Caſpain, and the other into the Euxine ſea, was the ſeat of the Getæ, whom Herodotus mentions as then known by the name of Getæ immortales, becauſe they believed that, when they died, they ſhould go to Zamolxis, and enjoy a new life in another world, at leaſt ſuch of them as lived according to his orders and inſtitutions, who had been a great prince or lawgiver among them. From this name of Getæ came that of Gothæ;

Gothæ; and this part of Scythia, in its whole northern extent, I take to have been the vaſt hive out of which iſſued ſo many mighty ſwarms of barbarous nations, who under the ſeveral names of Goths, Vandals, Alans, Lombards, Huns, Bulgars, Francs, Saxons, and many others, broke in at ſeveral times and places upon the ſeveral provinces of the Roman empire, like ſo many tempeſts, tore in pieces the whole fabric of that government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the inhabitants, language, cuſtoms, laws, the uſual names of places and of men, and even the very face of nature where they came, and planted new nations and dominions in their room. Thus Italy, after many ſpoils and invaſions of the Goths and Vandals, came to be poſſeſſed by the Lombards, Pannonia by the Huns, Thracia by the Bulgars, the ſouthern parts of Spain or Andaluzia by the Vandals, the Eaſt or Catalonia by the Catti and Alani; the reſt of that continent by the Goths. Gaul was ſubdued by the Francs, and Britain by the Saxons; both which nations are thought to have come anciently from the more northern regions, and ſeated themſelves in thoſe parts of Germany that were afterwards called by their names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their latter conqueſts. The Scutes, who conquered Scotland and Ireland, and poſſeſſed them under the names of Albin Scutes, and Irin Scutes, I gueſs to have come from Norway, and to have retained more of the ancient Scythians (before the Goths came into thoſe parts) both in their language and habit, as that of mantles, and in the cuſtom of removing from one part to another, according to the ſeaſons, or conveniences of paſture. The Normans that came into France, I take likewiſe to be a later race from Norway, but after the Gothic orders and inſtitutions had gained more footing in that province.

The writers of thoſe times content themſelves to lay the diſgraces and ruins of their countries upon the

numbers and fierceneſs of theſe ſavage nations that invaded them, or upon their own diſunions and diſorders, that made way for ſo eaſy conqueſts; but I cannot believe, that the ſtrange ſucceſſes and victorious progreſſes of theſe northern conquerors ſhould have been the effect only of tumultuary arms and numbers, or that governments erected by them, and which have laſted ſo long in Europe, ſhould have been framed by unreaſonable or unthinking men. It is more likely, that there was among them ſome force of order, ſome reach of conduct, as well as ſome principle of courage, above the common ſtrain, that ſo ſtrange adventures could not be atchieved, but by ſome enchanted knights.

That which firſt gave me this thought, was the reflection upon thoſe verſes in Lucan:

——Populos quos deſpicit Arctos
Felices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animique capaces
Mortis, et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Happy in their miſtake, thoſe people whom
The northern pole aſpects, whom fear of death
(The greateſt of all human fears) ne'er moves;
From hence their courage, prone to ruſh on ſteel,
Their minds deſpiſing death, that think it mean
To ſpare a life that muſt again return.

By this paſſage it appears, that ſixteen hundred years ago thoſe northern people were diſtinguiſhed from all others by a fearleſneſs of death, grounded upon the belief of another life, which made them deſpiſe the care of preſerving this.

Whether ſuch an opinion were firſt infuſed among them by Zamolxis, and propagated by Odin among

his followers, or by him invented, I will not conjecture; it may have been either one or the other, ſince the Goths he led into the north-weſt parts of Europe are agreed to have come from the Getæ, who are placed near the river Tanais. For thoſe vaſt Scythian regions were divided into infinite ſeveral nations, ſeparated by the common natural bounds of rivers, lakes, mountains, woods, or marſhes; each of theſe countries was like a mighty hive, which by the vigour of propagation, and health of climate, growing too full of people, threw out ſome new ſwarm at certain periods of time, that took wing, and ſought out ſome new abode, expelling or ſubduing the old inhabitants, and ſeating themſelves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities of life they met with; if not, going on till they found ſome other more agreeable to their preſent humours or diſpoſitions. Sometimes the expelled nations took heart, and when they fled from one country, invaded another, and revenged the injuries of ſome cruel neighbours upon others that were weaker, but more innocent; and ſo, like waves, thruſt on one the other, for mighty length of ſpace or countries. Sometimes the conquerors augmented their numbers and forces with the ſtrongeſt and moſt adventurous of thoſe nations they firſt invaded, by their voluntary acceſſion into the ſhares or hopes of their future fortunes, and ſo went on to further conqueſts.

The uſual manner of theſe expeditions was, that when a country grew too full of people for the growth of it to ſupply, they aſſembled together all that were fit to bear arms, and divided themſelves into two bands, whereof one ſtaid at home to inhabit and defend their own, and the other went to ſeek new adventures, and poſſeſs ſome other they could gain by force of arms; and this was done ſometimes by lot, and ſometimes by agreement between the two diviſions. That band or colony

colony that went abroad, choſe their leader among thoſe in moſt repute and eſteem for wiſdom or for courage; and theſe were their commanders or generals in war; and, if they lived and ſucceeded, were the firſt princes of thoſe countries they conquered, and choſe for the ſeat of their new colony or kingdom.

* It ſeems agreed by the curious enquirers into the antiquities of the Runic language and learning, that Odin,

Excerpta ex Edda.

* Hic Odinus fatidicus erat, utet ejus conjux, unde nomen ſuum in Septentrione prae cunctis regibus maxime celebratum iri praevidit. Hâc motus cauſâ ex Turcia iter molitus erat, adjuncto ſibi magno numero militum juvenum et ſeniorum utriuſque ſexûs. Quaſcunque terras peragrârunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, diis quam hominibus ſimiliores ab univerſis judicati; nec prius ſubſtiterunt quam terram ingreſſi eſſent quae nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, iſtamque regionem latè poſſedit, quam cùm diſtribuiſſet inter filios, ita ut Vagdeggo orientalem Saxoniam, Begdego Weſtphaliam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit; ipſe in aliam migravit regionem, quae tunc Reidgotolandia dicebatur, et quicquid ibi placuit ſibi vindicavit. Huic terrae praefecit filium Skioldam, ex quo Freidlefus genitus eſt, cujus poſteri Skioldungar ſive Skioldiades nominantur, à qua ſtirpe Daniae reges deſcenderunt, iſta Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.

Ex Snorrone.

Odinus heros in Aſgordia prope Tanaim, ſacrorum gentilium ſummus antiſtes, duodecim ſenatores qui caeteris pietate et ſapientia praeſtarent, religioni curandae et juri dicundo praefecit. Hic magnanimus et fortis bellator innumera regna ditioneſque ſuam redegit in poteſtatem. Manus ducum ſuorum vertici imponens eos conſecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncupabant. Othinus fratribus ſuis regnum Aſgardiae commiſit, ipſe in Ruſſiam profectus et inde in Saxoniam, eam ſibi ſubjugavit, et filiis in regendum commiſit. Inauditi generis miracula variis exercuit praeſtigiis, Magiſterium publicum Magiae praecipiendae inſtituit: in varias formarum ſpecies ſe tranſmutare noverat, tanta eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram, ſermoni

Odin, or Woden, or Goden (according to the different northern dialects) was the firſt and great hero of the weſtern Scythians; that he led a mighty ſwarm of the Getes, under the name of Goths, from the Aſiatic Scythia into the fartheſt north-weſt parts of Europe; that he ſeated and ſpread his kingdom round the whole Baltic ſea, and over all the iſlands in it, and extended it weſtward to the ocean, and ſouthward to the Elve (which was anciently eſteemed the bound between the Scythians and the Germans); that this vaſt country was in the ancient Gothic term called Biarmia, and is by ſome authors termed Officina gentium, having furniſhed all thoſe ſwarms of Goths, Vandals, Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Danes, Normans, which ſo often infeſted, and at length ſubdued, all the weſtern provinces of Europe. Some write, that he extended his conqueſts even as far as Franconia itſelf; but all agree, that this Odin was the firſt inventor of, at leaſt the firſt engraver of the Runic letters or characters, ſometimes ſo famous, and at laſt ſo infamous in the world, by the vulgar opinion and imputation of all ſorts of charms, enchantments, or witchcrafts, to the uſe and force of thoſe ſtrange characters; that he inſtituted many excellent orders and laws, made the diſtinction of ſeaſons, the diviſions of time, was an invincible warrior, a wiſe lawgiver, loved and obeyed during life by his ſubjects, and after his death adored as one of their

ſermoni gratiam conciliabat; tanta ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut ſaepe corpus ſuum velut ſpiritu ſuppreſſo humi proſterneret, evigilans ſe longinquas oras peragrâſſe, et quid ibi rerum gereretur comperiſſe aſſeverabat. Ad ſummum Runis ſuis et incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum ſibi nomen peperit, ut ſapientiae et potentiae ſuae et Aſianorum per omnes brevi nationes ſit debitum, quo evenit ut Sueci aliique populi Boreales Odino ſacrificia dependerent. Poſt obitum multis apparuit, multis victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalde, id eſt, aulam Plutonis, invitavit.

three

three chief gods, amongſt which he was the god of war, Thor of thunder and tempeſt, Frea of pleaſure; by whoſe names, for an eternal memory, three days of the week are called.

I will not enter into his ſtory, nor that of his ſucceſſion, or the infinite and famous revolutions it produced in the world, nor into the more curious ſearch of the time of his expedition, which muſt have been very ancient, and is thereby left doubted and undetermined: but, if it be true that he was inventor of the Runic characters, ſome writers of that language will make him older than Evander, by affirming their Runic letters to have been more ancient than the Latin, which were firſt brought into Italy in his time. For my own part, I ſhould gueſs, by all I have peruſed of thoſe antiquities, that this expedition may have been made two thouſand years ago, or thereabouts. So much is true, that the Runes were for long periods of time in uſe, upon materials more laſting than any others employed to that purpoſe; for inſtead of leaves or barks, or wax, or parchments, theſe were engraven upon ſtones or planks of oaks, upon artificial obeliſks or pillars, and even upon natural rocks, in great numbers and extent of lines. But more of this Runic ſubject will occur upon that of poetry; and I ſhall only obſerve, among the conſtitutions of theſe northern people, three principles of a ſtrain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themſelves, and which extended very far into the fortunes and conqueſts of their arms, and into the force and duration of their kingdoms: the firſt of theſe is a principle of religion or ſuperſtition, the next of learning, and the laſt of policy or civil government.

Whether the firſt were deduced from that of Zamolxis among the Getes, ſtiled of old, Immortals, or introduced by Odin among the weſtern Goths, it is certain that an opinion was fixed and general among them,

them, that death was but the entrance into another life; that all men who lived lazy and unactive lives, and died natural deaths, by ſickneſs, or by age, went into vaſt caves under ground, all dark and miry, full of noiſome creatures uſual in ſuch places, and there for ever grovelled in endleſs ſtench and miſery. On the contrary, all who gave themſelves to warlike actions and enterpriſes, to the conqueſts of their neighbours, and ſlaughters of enemies, and died in battle, or of violent deaths upon bold adventures or reſolutions, they went immediatly to the vaſt hall or palace of Odin, their god of war, who eternally kept open houſe for all ſuch gueſts, where they were entertained at infinite tables, in perpetual feaſts and mirth, carouſing every man in bowls made of the ſkulls of their enemies they had ſlain, according to which numbers, every one in theſe manſions of pleaſure was the moſt honoured and the beſt entertained.

How this opinion was printed in the minds of theſe fierce mortals, and what effect it had upon their thoughts and paſſions concerning life and death, as it is touched elegantly in thoſe verſes of Lucan before recited, ſo it is lively repreſented in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth ſtanzas of that ſong or epicedium of Regner Ladbrog, one of their famous Kings, which he compoſed in the Runic language about eight hundred years ago, after he was mortally ſtung by a ſerpent, and before the venom ſeized upon his vitals. The whole ſonnet is recited by Olaus Wormius in his Literatura Runica (who has very much deſerved from the commonwealth of learning) and is very well worth reading by any that love poetry, and to conſider the ſeveral ſtamps of that coin according to ſeveral ages and climates. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that ſuch an alacrity or pleaſure in dying was never expreſſed in any other writing, nor imagined among

among any other people. The two ſtanzas are thus tranſlated into Latin by Olaus.

STANZA XXV.

Pugnavimus enſibus,
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi patris ſcamna
Parata ſcio in aula,
Bibemus cereviſiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio deſperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

STANZA XXVI.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dyſæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi miſit
Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis
In ſumma ſede bibam.
Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ,
Ridens moriar.

I am deceived, if in this ſonnet, and a following ode of Scallogrim (which was likewiſe made by him after he was condemned to die, and deſerved his pardon for a reward) there be not a vein truly poetical, and in its kind Pindaric, taking it with the allowance of the different climates, faſhions, opinions, and languages of ſuch diſtant countries.

I will not trouble myſelf with more paſſages out of theſe Runic poems, concerning this ſuperſtitious principle, which is ſo perfectly repreſented in theſe, with the

the poſſeſſion it had taken of the nobleſt ſouls among them; for ſuch this Ladbrog appears to have been, by his perpetual wars and victories in thoſe northern continents, and in England, Scotland, and Ireland. But I will add a teſtimony of it, which was given me at Nimeguen by count Oxenſtern, the firſt of the Swediſh ambaſſadors in that aſſembly, in diſcourſe upon this ſubject and confirmation of this opinion, having been general among the Goths of thoſe countries; he told me there was ſtill in Sweden a place which was a memorial of it, and was called Odin's Hall; that it was a great bay in the ſea, encompaſſed on three ſides with ſteep and ragged rocks; and that, in the time of the Gothic paganiſm, men that were either ſick of diſeaſes they eſteemed mortal or incurable, or elſe grown invalid with age, and thereby paſt all military action, and fearing to die meanly and baſely (as they eſteemed it) in their beds, they uſually cauſed themſelves to be brought to the neareſt part of theſe rocks, and from thence threw themſelves down ito the ſea, hoping, by the boldneſs of ſuch a violent death, to renew the pretence of admiſſion in the hall of Odin, which they had loſt by failing to die in combat and by arms.

What effect ſuch a principle (ſucked in with inſtruction and education, and well believed) muſt have upon the paſſions and actions of a people naturally ſtrong and brave, is eaſy to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the ſtrains of the boldeſt and firmeſt philoſophy; for this reached no farther than conſtancy in death, or indifferency in the opinion of that, or of life; but the other infuſed a ſcorn of life, and a deſire of death; nay, fear and averſion even for a natural death, with purſuit and longing for a violent one (contrary to the general opinions of all other nations) ſo as they took delight in war and dangers, as others did in hunting, or ſuch active ſports, and fought as much for the hopes of death as of victory, and found

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as much pleaſure in the ſuppoſed advantages and conſequences of one, as in the real enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new motions or deſigns, fearleſs and fierce in the execution of them, and never caring in battle to preſerve their lives longer than to increaſe the ſlaughter of their enemies, and thereby their own renown here, and felicity hereafter.

Their deciſions of right and juſt were by arms, and mortal combats allowed by laws, approved by princes, aſſiſted by formal judges, and determined by death or victory. From hence came all thoſe juſts, and tiltings, and tournaments, ſo long in uſe, and ſo much celebrated in theſe parts of the world; their marriage feaſts were ſolemnized by lances and ſwords, by blows, by wounds, and ſometimes by death, till that cuſtom was diſgraced by the deplorable end of Henry II. of France, and the fatal lance of Montgomery. From hence came the long uſe of legal and of ſingle combats, when the right of titles or lands was difficult; or when a perſon, accuſed of any crime, denied abſolutely what his accuſer poſitively affirmed, and no other proof could on either ſide be produced. It is known in ſtory, how long and how frequent this was in uſe among all the Gothic races, and in the ſeveral kingdoms or principalities erected by them, even after the profeſſion of Chriſtianity among them. When it grew too infamous upon the entrance of learning and civility, and the laws were aſhamed of allowing trials of blood and violence, yet the cuſtom could not be extinguiſhed, but made way for that of private duels, and for the lye being accounted a juſt ground of fighting in point of honour, becauſe it had been ſo in point of law during the barbarous ages. This ſeems to have begun upon the famous challenge that paſſed between Charles V. and Francis I. which though without effect, yet it is enough known and lamented, how much of the braveſt blood of Chriſtendom has been

been ſpilt by that example, eſpecially in France, during the ſeveral ſucceeding reigns, till it ſeems to have been extinguiſhed by the juſt ſeverity, and to the juſt honour of the preſent king.

But to return to the bold authors of theſe cuſtoms (unknown to the Greek and Roman nations). Their bodies indeed were hard and ſtrong, their minds rough and fierce, their numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their climate: but, beſides theſe advantages, their courage was undaunted, their buſineſs was war, their pleaſures were dangers, their very ſports were martial; their diſputes and proceſſes were decided by arms; they feared nothing but too long life, decays of age, and a natural or ſlothful death, any violent or bloody they deſired and purſued; and all this from their opinion of one being ſucceeded by miſeries, the other by felicities, of a future and a longer life.

For my own part, when I conſider the force of this principle, I wonder not at the effects of it, their numerous conqueſts, nor immenſity of countries they ſubdued, nor that ſuch ſtrangé adventures ſhould have been finiſhed by ſuch enchanted men. But when Chriſtianity, introduced among them, gave an end to theſe deluſions, the reſtleſs humour of perpetual wars and actions was likewiſe allayed, and they turned their thoughts to the eſtabliſhment of their ſeveral kingdoms, in the provinces they had ſubdued and choſen for their ſeats, and applied themſelves to the orders and conſtitutions of their civil or political governments.

Their principle of learning was, that all they had among them was applied to the knowledge and diſtinction of ſeaſons, by the courſe of the ſtars, and to the prognoſtics of weather, or elſe to the praiſes of virtue, which conſiſted among them only in juſtice to their own nation, and valour againſt their enemies; and the reſt was employed in diſplaying the brave and he-

roic exploits of their princes and leaders, and the prowefs and conqueft of their nation; all their writings were compofed in verfe, which were called Runes or Viifes, and from thence the term of wife came: and thefe poets or writers, being efteemed the fages among them, were, as fuch, always employed in the attendance upon their princes, both in courts and camps, being ufed to advife in their conduct, and to record their actions, and celebrate their praifes and triumphs. The traces of thefe cuftoms have been feen within the compafs of this very age, both in Hungary and Ireland, where, at their feafts, it was ufual to have thefe kind of poets entertain the company with their rude fongs, or panegyrics of their anceftors bold exploits; among which the number of men, that any of them had flain with their own hands, was the chief ingredient in their praifes. By thefe, they rewarded the prowefs of the old men among them, and inflamed the courage of the young to equal the boldnefs and atchievements of thofe that had travelled before them in thefe paths of glory.

The principle of politic or civil government, in thefe northern nations, feems derived from that which was military among them. When a new fwarm was upon the wing, they chofe a leader or general for the expedition, and, at the fame time, the chief officers to command the feveral divifions of their troops; thefe were a council of war to the general, with whom they advifed in the whole progrefs of their enterprize; but upon great occafions, as a pitched battle, any military exploit of great difficulty and danger, the choice of a country to fix their feat, or the conditions of peace that were propofed, they aflembled their whole troops, and confulted with all the foldiers or people they commanded. This Tacitus obferves to have been in ufe among the German Princes in his time, to confult of

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ſmaller affairs with the chief officers, but de majoribus omnes.

If a leader of theſe colonies ſucceeded in his attempts, and conquered a new country, where, by common conſent, they thought fit to reſide, he grew a prince of that country, while he lived; and, when he died, another was choſen to ſucceed him by a general election. The lands of the ſubdued territory were divided into greater and ſmaller ſhares, beſides that reſerved to the prince and government. The great were given to the chief officers of the army, who had beſt deſerved, and were moſt eſteemed; the ſmaller to the common or private ſoldiers. The natives conquered were wholly deſpoiled of their lands, and reckoned but as ſlaves by the conquerors, and ſo uſed for labour and ſervile offices, and thoſe of the conquering nation were the freemen. The great ſharers, as chief officers, continued to be the council of the prince in matters of ſtate, as they had been before in matters of war; but in the great affairs, and of common concernment, all that had the ſmaller ſhares in land were aſſembled and adviſed with. The firſt great ſhares were, in proceſs of time, called baronies, and the ſmall, fees.

I know very well how much critic has been employed by the moſt learned, as Eraſmus, Selden, Spelman, as well as many others, about the two words Baro and Feudum, and how much pains have been taken to deduce them from the Latin, Greek, and even the Hebrew and Egyptian tongues; but I find no reaſon, after all they have ſaid, to make any doubt of their having been both the original of the Gothic or northern language; or of Baron having been a term of dignity, of command, or of honour, among them; and Feudum, of a ſoldier's ſhare of land. I find the firſt uſed above eight hundred years ago in the verſes mentioned of King Lodbrog, when one of his exploits was to have conquered eight barons. And though

fees or feuda were in uſe under later Roman emperors, yet they were derived from the Gothic cuſtoms, after ſo great numbers of thoſe nations were introduced into the Roman armies, and employed, upon the decline of that empire, againſt other more barbarous invaſions. For of all the northern nations, the Goths were eſteemed the moſt civil, orderly, and virtuous, and are for ſuch commended by St. Auſtin and Salvian, who makes their conqueſts to have been given them by the juſtice of God, as a reward of their virtue, and a puniſhment upon the Roman provinces for the vicioufneſs and corruptions of their lives and governments. So as it is no wonder if many Gothic words and cuſtoms entered early into the Roman empire.

As to the word Baro, it is not, that I find, at all agreed among the learned from whence to derive it, and the objections raiſed againſt their ſeveral conjectures ſeem better grounded than the arguments for any of them. But what that term imported is, out of their ſeveral accounts, eaſy to collect, and confirmed by what ſtill remains in all the conſtitutions of the Gothic governments. For though by Barons are now meant in England ſuch as are created by patent, and thereby called to the houſe of lords; and Baron in Spaniſh ſignifies only a man of note or worth; and the quality denoted by that title be different in the ſeveral countries of Chriſtendom; yet there is no queſtion, but they were originally ſuch perſons as, upon the conqueſt of a country, were by the conquering prince inveſted in the poſſeſſion of certain tracts or proportions of free lands, or at leaſt ſuch as they held by no other tenure but that of military ſervice, or attendance upon the prince in his wars with a certain number of armed men. Theſe in Germany, France, Scotland, ſeem to have had, and ſome ſtill to retain, a ſovereign power in their territories by the exerciſe of what

what is called high and low juſtice, or the power of judging criminal as well as civil cauſes, and inflicting capital puniſhments among thoſe that held under them, either as vaſſals or in fee. But I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in England, though the great barons had not only great numbers of knights, but even petty barons holding under them.

I think the whole realm of England was by William the Conqueror divided into baronies, however the diſtinctions may have been long ſince worn out: but in Ireland they ſtill remain, and every country there is divided into ſo many baronies, which ſeem to have been the ſhares of the firſt barons. And ſuch as theſe great proprietors of land compoſed, in all theſe north-weſt regions, one part in the ſtates of the country or kingdom.

Now for the word Barons, though it be a preſumption to aſſert any thing after the doubts or unreſolved diſputes of ſuch learned men, yet I ſhall adventure to give my own opinion, how different ſoever from any that has been yet advanced. I find in Guagnini's deſcription of Sarmatia, printed in the year 1581, that in the ſeveral dukedoms, palatinates, or principalities, which then compoſed the mighty empire of Muſcovy, thoſe perſons who were the chief in poſſeſſions of lands, offices, or dignities among them next to the prince, duke, or palatine, were by one common appellation called his boiarons, as thoſe of the ſame ſort or quality in the preſent court of the great dukes are now termed his boiars, which may be a corrupt or particular dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any man, that tries how eaſy a change is made in the contraction of boiarons into barons, which is but of the two firſt ſyllables into one, and that with an A long, as barons is commonly uſed: and thoſe countries above-mentioned, having been the ſeats of our conquering Goths, I am apt to think their boiarons

grew, with their conqueſts, to be the original barons in all thoſe ſeveral nations or dominions where they were extended.

From the diviſions, forms, and inſtitutions already deduced, will naturally ariſe and plainly appear the frame and conſtitution of the Gothic government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before known or obſerved in ſtory; but ſo univerſal among theſe northern nations, that it was under the names of king, or prince, or duke and his eſtates, eſtabliſhed in all parts of Europe from the north-eaſt of Poland and Hungary to the ſouth-weſt of Spain and Portugal, though theſe vaſt countries had been ſubdued by ſo many ſeveral expeditions of theſe northern people, at ſuch diverſe times, and under ſo different appellations, and it ſeems to have been invented or inſtituted by the ſages of the Goths, as a government of freemen, which was the ſpirit or character of the north-weſt nations, diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe of the South and the Eaſt, and gave the name of the Francs among them.

I need ſay nothing of this conſtitution, which is ſo well known in our iſland, and was anciently the ſame with ours in France and Spain, as well as Germany and Sweden, where it ſtill continues, conſiſting of a king or a prince who is ſovereign both in peace and war, of an aſſembly of barons (as they were originally called) whom he uſes as his council, and another of the commons, who are the repreſentative of all that are poſſeſſed of free-lands, whom the prince aſſembles and conſults with upon the occaſions or affairs of the greateſt and common concern to the nation. I am apt to think that the poſſeſſion of land was the original right of election or repreſentative among the commons, and that cities and boroughs were intitled to it, as they were poſſeſſed of certain tracts of land that belonged or were annexed to them. And ſo it is ſtill in Friez-

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land, the ſeat from whence our Gothic or Saxon anceſtors came into theſe iſlands. For the ancient ſeat of the Gothic kingdom was of ſmall or no trade; nor England in their time. Their humours and lives were turned wholly to arms, and long after the Norman conqueſt, all the trade of England was driven by Jews, Lombards, or Milaners; ſo as the right of boroughs ſeem not to have riſen from regards of trade, but of land, and were places where ſo many freemen inhabited together, and had ſuch a proportion of land belonging to them. However it be, this conſtitution has been celebrated, as framed with great wiſdom and equity, and as the trueſt and juſteſt temper that has been ever found out between dominion and liberty; and it ſeems to be a ſtrain of what Heraclitus ſaid was the only ſkill or knowledge of any value in the politics, which was the ſecret of governing all by all.

This ſeems to have been intended by theſe Gothic conſtitutions and by the election and repreſentation of all that poſſeſſed lands: for ſince a country is compoſed of the land it contains, they eſteemed a nation to be ſo, of ſuch as were the poſſeſſors of it. And what prince ſoever can hit of this great ſecret, needs know no more, for his own ſafety and happineſs, or that of the people he governs: for no ſtate or government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private factions, which is grounded upon the general conſent and ſatisfaction of the ſubjects, unleſs it be wholly ſubdued by the force of armies; and then the ſtanding armies have the place of ſubjects, and the government depends upon the contented or diſcontented humours of the ſoldiers in general, which has more ſudden and fatal conſequences upon the revolutions of ſtate, than thoſe of ſubjects in unarmed governments. So the Roman, Egyptian, and Turkiſh empires appear to have always turned upon the arbitrary wills and wild humours of the Prætorian bands, the Mamalukes,

and the janizaries. And ſo I paſs from the Scythian conqueſts and Gothic conſtitutions to thoſe of the Arabians or Mahometans, in the world.

SECT. V.

THE laſt ſurvey I propoſe of the four outlying (or, if the learned ſo pleaſe to call them, barbarous) empires, was that of the Arabians, which was indeed of a very different nature from all the reſt, being built upon foundations wholly enthuſiaſtic, and thereby very unaccountable to common reaſon, and in many points contrary even to human nature; yet few others have made greater conqueſts or more ſudden growths, than this Arabian or Saracen empire; but having been of later date, and the courſe of it engaged in perpetual wars with the Chriſtian princes, either of the Eaſt or Weſt, of the Greek or the Latin churches, both the original and progreſs of it have been eaſily obſerved, and are moſt vulgarly known, having been the ſubject of many modern writers, and ſeveral well digeſted hiſtories or relations; and therefore I ſhall give but a very ſummary account of both.

About the year 600, or near it, lived Mahomet, a man of mean parentage and condition, illiterate, but of great ſpirit and ſubtle wit, like thoſe of the climate or country where he was born or bred, which was that part of Arabia called The Happy, eſteemed the lovelieſt and ſweeteſt region of the world, and like thoſe bleſſed ſeats ſo finely painted by the poet:

Quas neque concutiunt venti, neque nubila nimbis
Aſpergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruinâ
Cana cadens violat, ſemperque innubilus æther
Contegit, et late diffuſo lumine ridet.

He was ſervant to a rich merchant of this country, and after his maſter's death, having married his widow, came to be poſſeſſed of great wealth, and of a numerous family: among others, he had entertained in it a Sergian monk, or at leaſt called by that name, whoſe vicious and libertine diſpoſitions of life had made him leave his incloſure and profeſſion, but otherwiſe a man of great learning. Mahomet was ſubject to fits of an epilepſy or falling-ſickneſs, and, either by the cuſtoms of that climate, or the neceſſity of that diſeaſe, very temperate and abſtaining from wine, but in the reſt voluptuous and diſſolute. He was aſhamed of his diſeaſe, and, to diſguiſe it from his wife and family, pretended his fits were trances into which he was caſt at certain times by God Almighty, and in them inſtructed in his will, and his true worſhip and laws, by which he would be ſerved; and that he was commanded to publiſh them to the world, to teach them, and ſee them obeyed.

About this age all the Chriſtian provinces of the Eaſt were over-run with Arianiſm, which, however refined or diſguiſed by its learned profeſſors and advocates, either denied or undermined the divinity of Chriſt, and allowed only his prophetical office. The countries of Arabia and Egypt were filled with great numbers of the ſcattered Jews, who, upon the laſt deſtruction of their country in Adrian's time, had fled into theſe provinces to avoid the ruin and even extinction which was threatening their nation by that emperor, who, after all the deſolations he made in Judea, tranſported what he could of their remaining numbers into Spain. The reſt of Arabia and Egypt was inhabited by Gentiles, who had little ſenſe left of their decayed and derided idolatry, and had turned their thoughts and lives to luxury and pleaſure, and to the deſires and acquiſition of riches, in order to thoſe ends. Mahomet, to humour and comply with theſe three ſorts of men, and

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by the aſſiſtance of the monk his only confident, framed a ſcheme of religion he thought likely to take in, or at leaſt not to ſhock, the common opinions and diſpoſitions of them all, and yet moſt agreeable to his own temper and deſigns.

He profeſſed one God, creator of the world, and who governed all things in it. That God had in ancient times ſent Moſes, his firſt and great prophet, to give his laws to mankind, but that they were neither received by the Gentiles, nor obeyed by the Jews themſelves, to whom he was more peculiarly ſent. That this was the occaſion of the misfortunes and captivities that ſo often befel them. That in the latter ages he had ſent Chriſt, who was the ſecond prophet, and greater than Moſes, to preach his laws and obſervation of them, in greater purity, but to do it with gentleneſs, patience, and humility, which had found no better reception or ſucceſs among men than Moſes had done. That for this reaſon God had now ſent his laſt and greateſt prophet Mahomet, to publiſh his laws and commands with more power, to ſubdue thoſe to them by force and violence who ſhould not willingly receive them; and for this end to eſtabliſh a kingdom upon earth that ſhould propagate this divine law and worſhip throughout the world. That as God had deſigned utter ruin and deſtruction to all that refuſed them, ſo, to thoſe that profeſſed and obeyed them, he had given the ſpoils and poſſeſſions of his and their enemies, as a reward in this life, and had provided a paradiſe hereafter, with all ſenſual enjoyments, eſpecially of beautiful women new created for that purpoſe; but with more tranſcendent degrees of pleaſure and felicity to thoſe that ſhould die in the purſuit and propagation of them, through the reſt of the world, which ſhould in time ſubmit or be ſubdued under them: theſe, with the ſevere prohibition of drinking wine, and the principle of predeſtination, were the firſt

firſt and chief doctrines and inſtitutions of Mahomet, and which were received with great applauſe, and much confluence of Arians, Jews, and Gentiles in thoſe parts; ſome contributing to the riſe of his kingdom, by the belief of his divine miſſion and authority; many, by finding their chief principles or religious opinions contained or allowed in them; but moſt, by their voluptuouſneſs and luxury, their paſſions of avarice, ambition, and revenge being thereby complied with. After his fits or trances, he writ the many ſeveral parts or chapters of his Alcoran, as newly inſpired and dictated from heaven, and left in them that which to us, and in its tranſlations, looks like a wild fanatic rhapſody of his viſions or dreams, or rather of his fantaſtical imaginations and inventions, but has ever paſſed among all his followers as a book ſacred and divine; which ſhews the ſtrange difference of conceptions among men.

To be ſhort, this contagion was ſo violent, that it ſpread from Arabia into Egypt and Syria, and his power increaſed with ſuch a ſudden growth as well as his doctrine, that he lived to ſee them overſpread both thoſe countries and a great part of Perſia; the decline of the old Roman empire making eaſy way for the powerful aſcent of this new comet, that appeared with ſuch wonder and terror in the world, and with a flaming ſword made way wherever it came, or laid all deſolate that oppoſed it.

Mahomet left two branches of his race for ſucceſſion, which was in both eſteemed divine among his Muſſulmans or followers; the one was continued in the caliphs of Perſia, and the other of Egypt and Arabia: both theſe, under the common appellation of Saracens, made mighty and wonderful progreſs, the one to the Eaſt, and the other to the Weſt.

The Roman empire, or rather the remainders of it, ſeated at Conſtantinople, and afterwards called the Greek,

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was for ſome times paſt moſt cruelly infeſted, and in many parts ſhaken to pieces, by the invaſions or incurſions of many barbarous northern nations, and thereby diſabled from any vigorous oppoſition to this new and formidable enemy. Beſides, the diviſions among Chriſtians made way for their conqueſts, and the great increaſe of proſelytes in this new religion. The Arians, perſecuted in the eaſtern provinces by ſome of the Greek emperors (of the ſame faith with the weſtern or Roman church) made eaſy turns to the Mahometan doctrines, that profeſſed Chriſt to have been ſo great and ſo divine a prophet, which was all in a manner that they themſelves allowed him. The cruel perſecutions of the other Grecian princes againſt thoſe Chriſtians that would not admit the uſe of images, made great numbers of them go over to the Saracens, who abhorred that worſhip as much as themſelves. The Jews were allured by the profeſſion of unity in the godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Chriſtian faith, and by the great honour that was paid by the Saracens to Moſes, as a prophet and a lawgiver ſent immediately from God into the world. The Pagans met with an opinion of the old gentiliſm in that of predeſtination, which was the Stoic principle, and that whereinto unhappy men commonly fell, and ſought for refuge in the uncertain conditions or events of life, under tyrannical and cruel governments. So as ſome Roman authors obſerve, that the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero made more Stoics in Rome, than the precepts of Zeno, Chryſippus, and Cleanthes.

The great extent and power of the Perſian branch or empire continued long among the Saracens, but was over-run at length by the Turks firſt, and then by the Tartars under Tamerlane, whoſe race continued there till the time of Iſhmael, from whom the preſent ſophies are derived. This Iſhmael was an enthuſiaſt, or at leaſt a pretender to new relations in the Mahometan

hometan religion: he profeſſed to reform both their doctrines and their manners, and taught, that Haly alone, of Mahomet's followers, ought to be owned and believed as his true ſucceſſor, which made the Perſians ever ſince eſteem the Turks for heretics, as the Turks do them. He gained ſo many followers by his new and refined principles, or profeſſions of devotions, that he made himſelf king of Perſia by the ſame way that the Xeriffs came to be kings of Morocco and Fez, about Charles Vth's time, and Cromwell to be protector of England, and Oran Zeb to be great mogul in our age, which were the four great dominions of the fanatic ſtrain.

The Arabian branch of the Saracen empire, after a long and mighty growth in Egypt and Arabia, ſeems to have been at its height under the great Almanzor, who was the illuſtrious and renowned hero of this race, and muſt be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in learning, virtue, piety, and native goodneſs, as in power, in valour, and in empire. Yet this was extended from Arabia, through Egypt, and all the northern tracts of Africa, as far as the weſtern ocean, and over all the conſiderable provinces of Spain. For it was in his time, and by his victorious enſigns, that the Gothic kingdom in Spain was conquered, and the race of thoſe famous princes ended in Rodrigo. All that country was reduced under the Saracen empire (except the mountains of Leon and Oviedo) and were afterwards divided into ſeveral Mooriſh kingdoms, whereof ſome laſted to the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella: nay the Saracen forces, after the conqueſt of Spain, invaded the ſouthern parts of France, and proceeded with the ſame ſucceſs as far as Tours, till they were beaten and expelled by Charles Martel, who by thoſe exploits raiſed his renown ſo high, as to give him the ambition of leaving the kingdom of France to his own line, in Pepin and Charlemain, by the depoſi-

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tion and extinction of the firſt race, which had laſted from Pharamond.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler character of any prince, than of this great Almanzor, in ſome Spaniſh authors, or tranſlators of his ſtory out of the Arabian tongue, wherein the learning then remaining in the world flouriſhed moſt; and that of ancient Greece, as it had been tranſlated into their language, ſo it ſeems to have been, by the acuteneſs and excellency of thoſe more ſouthern wits, in ſome parts very much improved.

This kingdom continued great under the caliphs of Egypt, who, degenerating from the example and virtues of Almanzor, came to be hated of their ſubjects, and to ſecure themſelves from them by a mighty guard of Circaſſian ſlaves. Theſe were brought young from the country now called Mengrelia, between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, the antient ſeat of the Amazons, and which has, in paſt and preſent times, been obſerved to produce the braveſt bodies of men, and moſt beautiful of women, in all the eaſtern regions. Theſe ſlaves were called Mamalucs when they came into Egypt, and were brought up with care, and in all exerciſes and diſcipline that might render them the moſt martial troops or bands of ſoldiers that could any where be compoſed, and ſo they proved. The commander of this mighty band or guard of Mamalucs was called their ſultan, who was abſolute over them, as the general of an army is in time of war. They ſerved, for ſome time, to ſupport the government of the caliphs, and enſlave the Egyptians, till one of the ſultans, finding his own power, and the general diſeſteem wherein the caliph was fallen by the effeminate ſoftneſs or luxury of his life, depoſed him firſt, then ſlew him, and took upon himſelf the government of Egypt, under the name of Sultan, and reigned by the ſole force and ſupport of his Mamaluc troops, which were

were continually increaſed by the merchandiſe and tranſportation of Circaſſian ſlaves. This government laſted, with great terror in Egypt, between two and three hundred years, during which time, the new ſultans were elected, upon the death or depoſing of the old, by the choice of the Mamalucs, and always out of their own bands. The ſons of the deceaſed ſultans enjoyed the eſtates and riches left by their fathers; but, by the conſtitutions of the government, no ſon of a ſultan was ever either to ſucceed, or even to be elected ſultan; ſo that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the world, to be born of a prince was a certain and unalterable excluſion from the kingdom; and none was ever to be choſen ſultan that had not been actually ſold for a ſlave, brought from Circaſſia, and trained up a private ſoldier in the Mamaluc bands. Yet of ſo baſe metal were formed ſeveral men who made mighty figures in their age, and no nation made ſo brave a reſiſtance againſt the growing empire of the Turks, as theſe Mamalucs did under their ſultans, till they were conquered by Selim, after a long war, which looked in ſtory like the combat of ſome fierce tiger with a ſavage boar, while the country that is waſted by them are lookers-on, and little concerned under whoſe dominion and cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed among authors, whether the Turks were firſt called into Aſia by the Greek or the Perſian emperors; but it is by all, that, falling down in great numbers, they revolted from the aſſiſtance of their friends, ſet up for themſelves, embraced the Mahometan religion, and improved the principles of that ſect; by new orders and inventions (caſt wholly for conqueſt and extent of empire) they framed a kingdom, which, under the Ottoman race, ſubdued both the Greek empire and that of the Arabians, and rooted itſelf in all thoſe vaſt dominions as it continues to this day, with the addition of many other provinces to

their

their kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahometan belief. So this empire of the Turks, like a freſh graft upon one branch of a vigorous ſtock, covered wholly upon that which it was grafted, and out-grew, in time, the other which was natural, as the Perſian branch.

The chief principles upon which this fierce government was founded and raiſed to ſuch a height, were firſt thoſe of Mahomet already deduced, which, by their ſenſual paradiſe and predeſtination, were great incentives of courage and of enterprize, joined to the ſpoils of the conquered, both in their lands, their goods, and their liberties, which were all ſeized at the pleaſure of the conqueror.

A ſecond was, a belief infuſed of divine deſignation of the Ottoman line to reign among them, for extent of their territories, and propagation of their faith. This made him eſteemed, at leaſt by adoption, as a ſucceſſor of Mahomet, and both a ſovereign lawgiver in civil (and with the aſſiſtance of his mufti) a ſupreme judge in all religious matters. And this principle was ſo far improved among theſe people, that they held obedience to be given in all things to the will of their Ottoman prince, as to the will of God, by whom they thought him deſigned; and that they were bound not only to obey his commands with any hazard of their lives againſt enemies, but even by laying down their own whenever he commanded, and with the ſame reſignation that is by others thought due to the decrees of deſtiny, or the will and pleaſure of Almighty God. This gives ſuch an abandoned ſubmiſſion to all the frequent and cruel executions among them by the emperor's command, though upon the mere turns of his own humour, the ſuggeſtions of the miniſters, or the flatteries and revenges of thoſe women he moſt truſteth, or loveth beſt.

A third was, the diviſion of all lands in conquered countries into timariots or ſoldiers ſhares, beſides what was reſerved and appropriated to the emperor; and theſe ſhares being only at pleaſure, or for life, leave him the ſole lord of all lands in his dominion, which, by the common ſuppoſition of power following land, muſt, by conſequence, leave him the moſt abſolute of any ſovereign in the world.

A fourth, the allowance of no honours nor charges, no more than lands, to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the will of the prince. This applies every man's ambition and avarice to court his preſent humour, ſerve his preſent deſigns, and obey his commands, of how different nature ſoever they are, and how frequently changed.

A fifth was, the ſuppreſſion, and, in a manner extinction, of all learning among the ſubjects of their whole empire, at leaſt the natural Turks and janizaries, in whom the ſtrength of it conſiſts. This ignorance makes way for the moſt blind obedience, which is often ſhaken by diſputes concerning religion and government, liberty and dominion, and other arguments of that or ſome ſuch nature.

A ſixth was, the inſtitution of that famous order of the janizaries, than which a greater ſtrain of true and deep politic will hardly be obſerved in any conſtitution: this conſiſted in the arbitrary choice of ſuch Chriſtian children throughout their dominions, as were eſteemed moſt fit for the emperor's peculiar ſervice; and the choice was made by the ſhews or promiſes of the greateſt growth or ſtrength of body, vigour of conſtitution, and boldneſs of courage. Theſe were taken into the emperor's care, and trained up in certain colleges, or chambers, as they are called, and by officers for that purpoſe, who endeavoured to improve all they could the advantages of nature by thoſe of education and of diſcipline. They were all diligently

inſtructed in the Mahometan religion, and in the veneration of the Ottoman race. Such of them as proved weak of body, ſlothful, or puſillanimous were turned to labour in gardens, buildings, or drudgeries of the palace; but all that were fit for military ſervice, were, at a certain age, entered into the body of janizaries, who were the emperor's guards.

By this means, the number of Chriſtians was continually leſſened throughout the empire, and weakened by the loſs of ſuch as were like to prove the braveſt and ſtrongeſt of their races: that of Muſſelmans was increaſed in the ſame proportions, and a mighty body of choſen men kept up perpetually in diſcipline and pay, who eſteemed themſelves not only as ſubjects or ſlaves, but even pupils and domeſtic ſervants of the grand ſeignor's perſon and family.

A ſeventh was, the great temperance introduced into the general cuſtoms of the Turks, but more particularly of the janizaries, by the ſevere defence and abſtinence of wine, and by the proviſion of one only ſort of food for their armies, which was rice. Of this grain, as every man is able to carry, upon occaſion, enough for ſeveral days, ſo the quantity provided for every expedition is but according to the number, with no diſtinction for the quality of men; ſo that upon a march, or in a camp, a colonel has no more allowed him than a private ſoldier; nor are any but general officers encumbered with train or baggage, which gives them mighty advantages in their German wars, among whom every officer has a family in proportion to his command during the campania, as well as in his quarters; and the very ſoldiers uſed to carry their wives with them into the field; whereas a Turkiſh army conſiſts only of fighting men.

The laſt I ſhall mention is the ſpeedineſs as well as ſeverity of their juſtice both civil and military, which, though often ſubject thereby to miſtakes, and deplored by

by the complaints and calamities of innocent perſons, yet it is maintained upon this principle fixed among them, 'That it is better two innocent men ſhould die, 'than one guilty live.' And this indeed agrees with the whole caſt or frame of their empire, which ſeems to have been, in all points, the fierceſt, as that of the Ynca's was the gentleſt, that of China the wiſeſt, and that of the Goths the braveſt, in the world.

The growth and progreſs of this Turkiſh empire, under the Ottoman race, was ſo ſudden and ſo violent the two or three firſt centuries, that it raiſed fear and wonder throughout the world; but ſeems at a ſtand for theſe laſt hundred years, having made no conqueſt ſince that of Hungary, except the remainder of Candia, after a very long war ſo bravely maintained by the ſmall Venetian ſtate againſt ſo mighty powers. The reaſon of this may be drawn not only from the periods of empire, that, like natural bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain ſize, which they are not to exceed; but from ſome other cauſes, both within and without, which ſeem obvious enough.

The firſt, a neglect in the obſervance of ſome of theſe orders, which were eſſential to the conſtitutions of their government. For after the conqueſts of Cyprus, and the example of Selim's intemperance in thoſe and other wines, that cuſtom and humour prevailed againſt their laws of abſtinence, in that point ſo ſeverely enjoined by Mahomet, and ſo long obſerved among all his followers. And, though the Turks and janizaries endeavoured to avoid the ſcandal and puniſhment by drinking in private, yet they felt the effects in their bodies and in their humours, whereof the laſt needs no inflaming among ſuch hot tempers, and their bodies are weakened by this intemperance, joined to their abandoned luxury in point of women.

Beſides, the inſtitution of janizaries has been much altered by the corruption of officers, who have long

ſuffered the Chriſtians to buy off that tribute of their children, and the Turks to purchaſe the preferment of theirs into that order for money; by which means the choice of this militia is not made from the ſtrongeſt and moſt warlike bodies of men, but from the purſes of the parents or friends.

Theſe two diſtempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous humour of this body of janizaries, who, finding their own ſtrength, began to make what changes they pleaſed in the ſtate, till, having been long fluſhed with the blood of the baſha's and viziers, they made bold at laſt with that of their princes themſelves; and, having depoſed and ſtrangled Ibrahim, they ſet up his ſon, the preſent emperor, then a child. But the diſtemper ended not there; they fell into new factions, changed and murdered ſeveral viziers, and divided into ſo powerful parties, and with ſo fierce contentions, that the baſſa of Aleppo, with an army of an hundred thouſand men, ſet up for himſelf (though under pretence of a counterfeit ſon of Morat) and cauſed ſuch a convulſion in this mighty ſtate, that the Ottoman race had ended, if this bold adventurer had not, upon confidence in the faith of a treaty, been ſurprized and ſtrangled by order of old Cuperly, then newly come to be grand vizier, and abſolute in the government. This man entering the miniſtry at fourſcore years old, cruel by nature, and hardened by age, to allay the heat of blood in that diſtempered body of the janizaries and the other troops, cut off near forty thouſand of them in three years time by private, ſudden, and violent executions, without form of laws or trials, or hearing any ſorts of pleas or defences. His ſon, ſucceeding in the place of grand vizier, found the empire ſo diſpirited by his father's cruelty, and the militia remaining ſo ſpited and diſtempered, breathing new commotions and revenges, that he diverted the humour

mour by an eaſy war upon the Venetians, Tranſilvanians, or the remainders of Hungary, till by temper and conduct he had cloſed the wounds which his father had left bleeding, and reſtored the ſtrength of the Ottoman empire to that degree, that the ſucceeding vizier invaded Germany, though againſt the faith of treaties, or of a truce not expired, and at laſt beſieged Vienna, which is a ſtory too freſh and too known to be told here.

Another reaſon has been the neglect of their marine affairs, or of their former greatneſs at ſea, ſo as, for many years, they hardly pretend to any ſucceſſes on that element, but commonly ſay, That God has given the earth to the Muſſulmans, and the ſea to the Chriſtians.

The laſt I ſhall obſerve is the exceſſive uſe of opium, with which they ſeek to repair the want of wine, and to divert their melancholy reflexions upon the ill condition of their fortunes and lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the will or caprice of the grand ſeignor's or of the grand vizier's humour and commands. But the effect of this opium is very tranſitory; and though it allays for the preſent all melancholy fumes and thoughts, yet, when the operation is paſt, they return again, which makes the uſe of it ſo often repeated; and nothing more diſpirits and enervates both the body and the mind of thoſe that frequently uſe it.

The external reaſon of the ſtand made this laſt century, in the growth of the Turkiſh empire, ſeems to have been, their having before extended it till they came to ſuch ſtrong bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the Perſian empire to the eaſt, upon the Tartars to the north, upon the Æthiopians to the ſouth, and upon the German empire to the weſt, and turned their proſpect this way, as the

eaſieſt and moſt plauſible, being againſt a Chriſtian ſtate.

Now this empire of Germany, conſiſting of ſuch large territories, ſuch numbers and bodies of warlike men, when united in any common cauſe or quarrel, ſeems as ſtrongly conſtituted for defence, as the Turkiſh is for invaſion or conqueſt; for being compoſed of many civil and moderate governments, under legal princes or free ſtates, the ſubjects are all fond of their liberties and laws, and abhor the falling under any foreign or arbitrary dominions, and in ſuch a common cauſe ſeem to be invincible. On the contrary, the Turkiſh territories being all enſlaved, and thereby in a manner defolated, have no force but that of their ſtanding armies, and their people in general care not either for the progreſs of their victories abroad, nor even for the defence of their own countries, ſince they are ſure to loſe nothing, but may hope reaſonably to gain by any change of maſter, or of government, which makes that empire the worſt conſtituted that can be for defence, upon any great misfortune to their armies.

The effect of theſe two different conſtitutions had been ſeen and felt (in all probability) to the wonder of the whole world, in theſe late revolutions, if the divine decrees had not croſſed all human appearances. For the grand vizier might certainly have taken Vienna before the confederate princes could have united for its relief, if the opinion of vaſt treaſures (there aſſembled for ſhelter from all the adjacent parts) had not given him a paſſionate deſire to take the town by compoſition rather than by ſtorm, which muſt have left all its wealth a prey to the ſoldiers, and not to the general.

If the Turks had poſſeſſed this bulwark of Chriſtendom, I do not conceive what could have hindered them from being maſters immediately of Auſtria, and all its depending

depending provinces; nor, in another year, of all Italy, or of the ſouthern provinces of Germany, as they ſhould have choſen to carry on their invaſion, or of both in two or three years time; and how fatal this might have been to the reſt of Chriſtendom, or how it might have enlarged the Turkiſh dominions, is eaſy to conjecture.

On the other ſide, after the defeat of the grand vizier's army, his death, and that of ſo many brave baſhas and other captains, by the uſual humour and faction of that bloody court; after ſuch ſlaughters of the janizaries in ſo many encounters, and ſuch an univerſal diſcouragement of their troops, that could no where withſtand the German arms and bravery; if, upon the taking of Belgrade, the emperor had been at the head of the forces then in his ſervice, united under one great commander, and without dependence upon the ſeveral princes by whom they were raiſed, I do not ſee what could have hindered them from conquering all before them in that open country of Bulgaria and Romania, nor from taking Conſtantinople itſelf, upon the courſe of an eaſy war, in ſuch a decline of the Turkiſh empire, with ſo weak and diſpirited troops as thoſe that remained, a treaſure ſo exhauſted, a court ſo divided, and ſuch a general conſternation as appeared in that great and tumultuous city upon theſe occaſions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any ſo great revolution, either for the ruin or advantage of Chriſtendom, and ſeems to have left both empires at a bay, and not likely to make any great enterprizes on either ſide, but rather to fall into the deſigns of a peace, which may probably leave Hungary to the poſſeſſion as well as right of the houſe of Auſtria, and the Turks in a condition of giving no great fears or dangers, in our age, to the reſt of Chriſtendom.

Although the Mahometan empires were not raiſed, like others, upon the foundations, or by the force of heroic virtue, but rather by the practices of a ſubtle man upon the ſimplicity of a credulous people; yet the growth of them has been influenced by ſeveral princes, in whom ſome beams at leaſt of that ſun have ſhined, ſuch as Almanzor, Saladine, Ottoman, and Solyman the Great. And becauſe I have named the moſt heroic perſons of that ſect, it will be but juſtice to nobler nations to mention at the ſame time thoſe who appear to have ſhined the brighteſt in their ſeveral ages or countries, and the luſtre of whoſe virtues, as well as greatneſs, has been ſullied with the feweſt noted blemiſhes or defaults, and who for deſerving well of their own countries by their actions, and of mankind by their examples, have eternized their memories in the true records of fame, which is ever juſt to the dead, how partial ſoever it may be to the living, from the forced applauſes of power, or fulſome adulations of ſervile men.

Such as theſe were among the ancient Grecians, Epaminondas, Pericles, and Ageſilaus. Of the old Roman ſtate, the firſt Scipio, Marcellus, and Paulus Æmilius. Of the Roman emperors, Auguſtus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus. Among the Goths, Alaric and Theodoric. Of the weſtern emperors, Charlemain, Frederic Barbaroſſa, and Charles V. Of the French nation, Pharamond, Charles Martel, and Henry IV. who began three of their nobleſt races. Of the Swedes, Guſtavus Adolphus. And of our own, Richard I. the Black Prince, and Harry V. To theſe I may add ſeven famous captains, or ſmaller princes, whoſe exploits and virtues may juſtly allow them to be ranked with ſo great kings and emperors. Ætius and Belliſarius, the two laſt great commanders of the Roman armies, after the diviſion and decay of that mighty ſtate, who did ſet up the laſt trophies, and made the braveſt de-

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fences againſt the numbers and fury of thoſe barbarous nations that invaded, and after their time tore in pieces that whole empire. George Caſtriot, commonly called Scanderbeg, prince of Epire, and Huniades, viceroy of Hungaria, who were two moſt victorious captains and excellent men, the true champions of Chriſtendom whilſt they lived, and terror of the Turks, who with ſmall forces held at a bay for ſo many years all the powers of the Ottoman empire. Ferdinand Gonzalvo, that noble Spaniard, worthily ſirnamed the great captain, who by his ſole proweſs and conduct conquered a crown for his maſter, which he might have worn for himſelf, if his ambition had been equal to his courage and virtues. William prince of Orange, who reſtored the Belgic liberties, and was the founder of their ſtate, eſteemed generally the beſt and wiſeſt commander of his age, and who at the ſudden point of his death, as well as in the courſe of his life, gave ſuch teſtimonies of his being a true lover of the people and country he governed. Alexander Ferneſe, prince of Parma, who by his wiſdom, courage, and juſtice recovered ten of the ſeventeen provinces that were in a manner loſt to the crown of Spain; made two famous expeditions, for relief of his confederates, into the heart of France, and ſeemed to revive the ancient Roman virtue and diſcipline in the world, and to bring the noble genius of Italy to appear once more upon the ſtage.

Whoever has a mind to trace the paths of heroic virtue, which lead to the temple of true honour and fame, need ſeek them no further than in the ſtories and examples of thoſe illuſtrious perſons here aſſembled; and ſo I leave this crown of never-fading laurel, in full view of ſuch great and noble ſpirits as ſhall deſerve it, in this or in ſucceeding ages. Let them win it and wear it.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

UPON the ſurvey of all the great actions and revolutions occaſioned in the world by the conqueſt and progreſſes of theſe four mighty empires, as well as the other four, ſo much renowned in ſtory, it may not be impertinent to reflect upon the cauſes of conqueſts as well as the effects, and deduce them from their natural ſources, as far as they can be diſcovered, though like thoſe of great rivers they are uſually obſcure or taken little notice of until their ſtreams, increaſing by the influence of many others, make ſo mighty inundations, as to grow famous in the ſtories, as well as maps of the world.

To this end I ſhall obſerve three things upon the general courſe of conqueſts, the moſt renowned and beſt recorded, in what remains of ancient as well as modern hiſtories.

Firſt, that they have generally proceeded from north to ſouth, ſo as we find none beſides thoſe of the Saracens that can be ſaid to have ſailed the contrary courſe, and thoſe were animated by another ſpirit, which was the Mahometan perſuaſion of predeſtination that made them careleſs of their lives, and thereby fearleſs of dangers. For all the reſt, they have run the courſe before-mentioned, unleſs we ſhould admit the traditions, rather than relations, of the conqueſts of Seſoſtris, who is reported by the ancients to have ſubdued all, from Egypt to the river Tanais: but this we may not allow for truth, becauſe it muſt have preceded the reign of Ninus, and ſo diſagree with the chronology of holy ſcripture; and therefore it muſt be exploded for fabulous, with other relicks of ancient ſtory, as the Scythians having ſubdued and poſſeſſed Aſia ſo many hundred years before the empire of

of Ninus, and their wives having given ſo ancient a beginning to the famous kingdom of the Amazons, whereof ſome remnants only are ſaid to have remained in Alexander's time; yet the fame was then believed, of their having anciently extended their dominion over all the Leſſer Aſia, as well as Armenia, and of their having founded the famous temple of Diana at Epheſus, which is the more probable, from that appellation of Taurica that was anciently given her.

But the great conqueſts, recorded and undiſputed in ſtory, have been of the Aſſyrians ſouthwards, as far as Arabia and India. Of the Perſians, from the Caſpian ſea to the utmoſt extent of the preceding empire and of Egypt. Of the Macedonians over Greece, and all the bounds of the Perſian kingdom. Of the Romans over the Greek empire as far as Parthia eaſtward; and over Sicily, Spain, and Afric to the ſouth, before the progreſs of their arms towards the northweſt. Of the Tartars over all China and India. And of the Goths and other northern nations over all the more ſouthern provinces of Europe.

The ſecond obſervation I ſhall make upon the ſubject of victory and conqueſt is, that they have generally been made by the ſmaller numbers over the greatter, againſt which I do not remember any exception in all the famous battles regiſtered in ſtory, excepting that of Tamerlane and Bajazet, whereof the firſt is ſaid to have exceeded about a fourth part in number, though they were ſo vaſt on both ſides, that they were not very eaſy to be well accounted. For the reſt, the number of the Perſians with Cyrus were ſmall to thoſe of the Aſſyrians: thoſe of the Macedonians were, in no battle againſt the Perſians, above forty thouſand men, though ſometimes againſt three, four, or ſix hundred thouſand. The Athenian army little exceeded ten thouſand, and, fighting for the liberties of their country, beat above ſixſcore thouſand Perſians at Marathon.

thon. The Lacedæmonians, in all the famous exploits of that eſtate, never had above twelve thouſand Spartans in the field at a time, and ſeldom above twenty thouſand men with their allies *. The Romans ever fought with ſmaller againſt greater numbers, unleſs in the battles of Cannæ and Thraſimene, which were the only famous ones they loſt againſt foreign enemies; and Cæſar's army at Pharſalia, as well as in Gaul and Germany, were in no proportion to thoſe he conquered. That of Marius was not above forty thouſand againſt three hundred thouſand Cimbers. The famous victories of Ætius and Belliſarius, againſt the barbarous northern nations, were with mighty diſproportion of numbers; as likewiſe the firſt victories of the Turks upon the Perſian kingdom; of the Tartars upon the Chineſes: and Scanderbeg never ſaw together above ſixteen thouſand men in all the renowned victories he atchieved againſt the Turks, though in numbers ſometimes above an hundred thouſand.

To deſcend to later times, the Engliſh victories ſo renowned at Creſſy, Poitiers, and Agencourt, were gained with diſadvantages of numbers out of all proportion. The great atchievements of Charles VIII. in Italy, of Henry IV. in France, and of Guſtavus Adolphus in Germany, were ever performed with ſmaller againſt greater numbers. In this age, and among all the exploits that have ſo juſtly raiſed the reputation and honour of monſieur Turenne for the greateſt captain of his time, I do not remember anyof thm were atchieved without diſadvantage of number: and the late defeat of the Turks at the ſiege of Vienna, which ſaved Chriſtendom, and has eternized the name of the duke of Lorrain, was too freſh and great an example of this aſſertion, to need any more, or leave it in diſpute.

From

* And yet they are recorded never to have aſked how many their enemies were, but only where they were.

From theſe two principles of conqueſt, having proceeded from the north to the ſouth, and by ſmaller over greater numbers, we may conclude, that they may be attributed to the conſtitutions of men's bodies who compoſe the armies that atchieve them, or to the diſpoſitions of their minds. The firſt of theſe may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infuſed. It is without queſtion, the northern bodies are greater and ſtronger than the ſouthern, and alſo more healthy and more vigorous. The reaſon whereof is obvious to every man's conjecture, both from the common effects of air upon appetites and digeſtion, and from the roughneſs of the ſoil, which forces them upon labour and hardſhip. Now the true original greatneſs of any kingdom or nation may be accounted by the number of ſtrong and able bodies of their native ſubjects: this is the natural ſtrength of government, all the reſt is art, diſcipline, or inſtitution.

The next ingredient into the compoſition of conquering forces is fearleſſneſs of mind, whether it be occaſioned by the temper of the climate, or race of which men are born, or by cuſtom, which enures men to be inſenſible of danger, or by paſſions or opinions that are raiſed in them; for they may all have the ſame effect. We ſee the very beaſts and birds of ſome countries, as well as the men, are naturally fearleſs. We ſee long ſervice in armies, or at ſea, makes men inſenſible of dangers. We ſee the love of liberty, deſire of revenge, and defence of their country or prince, renders them careleſs of life. The very confidence of victory, either from former and frequent ſucceſſes, from the eſteem and opinion of their commander, or from the ſcorn of their enemies, makes armies victorious; but chiefly, the firm and rooted opinions of reward or puniſhment attending another world, and of obtaining the one, or avoiding the other, by dying

or conquering in the quarrel they are engaged in: and theſe are the great ſources of victory and fortune in arms; for, let the numbers be what they will, that army is ever beaten where the fright firſt enters. Few battles were loſt of old, but none ſince the uſe of gunpowder, by the greatneſs of downright ſlaughter before an army runs; and the noiſe and ſmoke of guns both increaſes fear, and covers ſhame, more than the ancient uſe of arms; ſo that, ſince thoſe of fire came in, battles have been uſually ſhorter and leſs bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denied either by ſoldiers or reaſonable men) that the battle is loſt where the fright firſt enters, then the reaſon will appear why victory has generally followed the ſmaller numbers, becauſe, in a body compoſed of more parts, it may ſooner enter upon one, than in that which conſiſts of fewer, as likelier to find ten wiſe men together than an hundred, and an hundred fearleſs men than a thouſand: and thoſe, who were the ſmaller forces, endeavour moſt to ſupply that defect by the choice, diſcipline, and bravery of their troops; and where the fright once enters an army, the greater the number, the greater the diſorder, and thereby the loſs of the battle more certain and ſudden.

From all this, I conclude, that the compoſition of victorious armies, and the great true ground of conqueſt, conſiſts firſt in the choice of the ſtrongeſt, ableſt, and hardieſt bodies of men; next, in the exactneſs of diſcipline, by which they are enured to labour and dangers, and to fear their commanders more than their enemies; and laſtly, in the ſpirit given them by love of their country or their prince, by impreſſions of honour or religion, to render them fearleſs of death, and ſo incapable, or at leaſt very difficult, to receive any fright, or break thereby into diſorder. And I queſtion not, but any brave prince or general, at the head

head of forty thouſand men, who would certainly ſtand their ground, and ſooner die than leave it, might fight any number of forces that can be drawn together in any field: for, beſides that a greater number may fall ſooner into fright and diſorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the action of one day's battle, whereas very few, in late ages, have laſted half that time.

The laſt remark I ſhall make upon this ſubject is, that the conquering nations have generally been thoſe who place the ſtrength of their arms in their own foot, and not in their horſe, which have never, till theſe later years, been eſteemed capable of breaking a firm body of foot; nor does their force ſeem to conſiſt in other advantage, beſides that of giving terror upon the fury of their firſt charge. Nor is this opinion leſs grounded upon reaſon than experience: for, beſides that men are firmer upon their own feet than thoſe of their horſes, and leſs in danger of falling into diſorder, which may come from want of diſcipline or courage in the horſes as well as their riders; it is hard to imagine, that ſpurs in the ſides of horſes ſhould have more effect or force to make them advance upon a charge, than pikes, ſwords, or javelins in their noſes and breaſts to make them keep off, fall back, or break their ranks, and run into diſorder.

For the experience nothing has been more known in all ages, or more undiſputed. The battle of Marathon was gained by ten thouſand foot againſt mighty numbers of Perſian horſes as well as foot. The famous retreat of Xenophon, for ſuch a length of country and of time, was made at the head of ten thouſand Greeks in the face of forty thouſand Perſian horſe; nor had the Greeks above a hundred or ſixſcore horſe in their camp, which they made uſe of only to forage, or purſue the Perſian horſe when they fled in diſorder from the points of their pikes and javelins. The Macedonian

cedonian foot, and afterwards the Macedonian phalanx, were impenetrable by all the Perſian horſe that ever encountered them. The Roman legions conſiſted each of ſix thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, which was all the proportion they ever had in their victorious armies, that could not be broken by the vaſt numbers of Spaniſh, Numidian, or Perſian and Armenian horſe they were ſo often engaged with. The force of the Gothic nations conſiſted in their foot, and of the Turkiſh and Ottoman empire in their janizaries. The noble conqueſts of the Engliſh in France were made all by their foot; and during that period of time, when the crown of Spain made ſo great a figure in Europe, it was all by the force and bravery of their Spaniſh and Italian foot.

There ſeem to be but two exceptions againſt this rule, which are the ancient greatneſs of the Perſians, and modern of the French, whoſe chief force have been eſteemed to conſiſt in their horſe. But the Perſian empire was raiſed by the conqueſts of the eaſtern nations, whoſe armies conſiſted chiefly in horſe, and one againſt the other, the beſt carried it, till they came to deal with the Grecian foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the French armies, though the bravery of their cavalry has been great and noble, as made up of ſo numerous a gentry in that kingdom; yet one chief ſtrength of their troops muſt be allowed, for the ſeveral late reigns, to have lain in their bands of Switzers; and in this preſent reign, mareſchal Turenne muſt be acknowledged to have made way for his maſters greatneſs by improving the bodies of French foot with force of choice and diſcipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his time.

I ſhall end this remark with an adventure I remember to have read in the ſtories of the dukes of Milan. One of them, having routed a great army of his enemies, was enraged to find a body of Switzers make ſtill a firm ſtand againſt all his victorious troops: he endeavoured

deavoured to break them by a desperate charge of some squadrons of his gens d'armes, who were all armed, as well as the heads and breasts of their horses, and so proof, as he thought, against the Switzers pikes. But all this effort proved in vain, till at length the duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their horses, and, armed as they were, to fall in upon the Switzers with their swords; they did it so desperately, some catching hold of the heads of their pikes, others cutting them in pieces with their broad swords, that they at last made way for themselves and other troops that followed them, and broke this body of brave Switzers, which had been impenetrable by any horse that could charge them: and this seems an evident testimony, that the impressions of horse upon foot are made by terror rather than force, and, where that first enters, the action is soon decided.

After all that has been said of conquerors or conquests, this must be confessed to hold but the second rank in the pretensions to heroic virtue, and that the first has been allowed to the wise institution of just orders and laws, which frame safe and happy governments in the world. The designs and effects of conquests are but the slaughter and ruin of mankind, the ravaging of countries, and defacing the world: those of wise and just governments are preserving and increasing the lives and generations of men, securing their possessions, encouraging their endeavours, and by peace and riches improving and adorning the several scenes of the world.

So the institutions of Moses leave him a diviner character than the victories of Joshua: those of Belus, Osiris, and Janus, than the prowess of Ninus, Cyrus, and Sesostris. And if, among the ancients, some men have been esteemed heroes by the brave atchievements of great conquests and victories, it has been by the wise institution of laws and government, that others have been honoured and adored as gods.

OF POETRY.

THE two common ſhrines, to which moſt men offer up the application of their thoughts and their lives, are profit and pleaſure; and, by their devotions to either of theſe, they are vulgarly diſtinguiſhed into two ſects, and called either buſy or idle men. Whether theſe terms differ in meaning, or only in ſound, I know very well may be diſputed, and with appearance enough, ſince the covetous man takes perhaps as much pleaſure in his gains as the voluptuous does in his luxury, and would not purſue his buſineſs, unleſs he were pleaſed with it, upon the laſt account of what he moſt wiſhes and deſires, nor would care for the increaſe of his fortunes, unleſs he thereby propoſed that of his pleaſures too, in one kind or other; ſo that pleaſure may be ſaid to be his end, whether he will allow to find it in his purſuit or no. Much ado there has been, many words ſpent, or (to ſpeak with more reſpect to the ancient philoſophers) many diſputes have been raiſed upon this argument, I think to little purpoſe, and that all has been rather an exerciſe of wit than an inquiry after truth; and all controverſies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The beſt is to take words as they are moſt commonly ſpoken and meant, like coin, as it moſt currently paſſes, without raiſing ſcruples upon the weight of the allay, unleſs the cheat or the defect be groſs and evident. Few things in the world, or none, will bear too much refining; a thread too fine ſpun will eaſily break, and the point of a needle too finely

finely filed. The uſual acceptation takes profit and pleaſure for two different things, and not only calls the followers or votaries of them by ſeveral names of buſy and of idle men, but diſtinguiſhes the faculties of the mind that are converſant about them, calling the operations of the firſt wiſdom, and of the other wit, which is a ſaxon word, that is uſed to expreſs what the Spaniards and Italians call Ingenio, and the French Eſprit, both from the Latin; but I think wit more peculiarly ſignifies that of poetry, as may occur upon remarks of the Runic language. To the firſt of theſe are attributed the inventions or productions of things generally eſteemed the moſt neceſſary, uſeful, or profitable to human life, either in private poſſeſſions or public inſtitutions; to the other, thoſe writings or diſcourſes which are the moſt pleaſing or entertaining to all that read or hear them: yet, according to the opinion of thoſe that link them together, as the inventions of ſages and lawgivers themſelves do pleaſe as well as profit thoſe who approve and follow them; ſo thoſe of poets inſtruct and profit, as well as pleaſe, ſuch as are converſant in them, and the happy mixture of both theſe makes the excellency in both thoſe compoſitions, and has given occaſion for eſteeming, or at leaſt for calling heroic virtue and poetry divine.

The names given to poets, both in Greek and Latin, expreſs the ſame opinion of them in thoſe nations; the Greek ſignifying makers or creators, ſuch as raiſe admirable frames and fabrics out of nothing, which ſtrike with wonder and with pleaſure the eyes and imaginations of thoſe who behold them; the Latin makes the ſame word common to poets and to prophets. Now as creation is the firſt attribute and higheſt operation of divine power, ſo is prophecy the greateſt emanation of divine ſpirit in the world. As the names in thoſe two learned languages, ſo the cauſes of poetry, are, by the writers of them, ſaid to be divine,

and to proceed from a celeſtial fire, or divine inſpiration; and by the vulgar opinions, recited or related to in many paſſages of thoſe authors, the effects of poetry were likewiſe thought divine and ſupernatural, and power of charms and enchantments were aſcribed to it.

Carmina vel cœlo poſſunt deducere lunam,
Carminibus Circe ſocios mutavit Ulyſſis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.

But I can eaſily admire poetry, and yet without adoring it; I can allow it to ariſe from the greateſt excellency of natural temper, or the greateſt race of native genius, without exceeding the reach of what is human, or giving it any approaches of divinity, which is, I doubt, debaſed or diſhonoured, by aſcribing to it any thing that is in the compaſs of our action, or even comprehenſion, unleſs it be raiſed by an immediate influence from itſelf. I cannot allow poetry to be more divine in its effects than in its cauſes, nor any operation produced by it to be more than purely natural, or to deſerve any other ſort of wonder than thoſe of muſic, or of natural magic, however any of them have appeared to minds little verſed in the ſpeculations of nature, of occult qualities, and the force of numbers or of ſounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the moon from heaven by force of verſes or of charms, either believes not himſelf, or too eaſily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an opinion begun by the practice of ſome poet upon the facility of ſome people, who knowing the time when an eclipſe would happen, told them he would by his charms call down the moon at ſuch an hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that charming deſcription in Virgil's eighth eclogue of all ſorts of charms and faſcinations by verſes, by images, by knots, by numbers, by fire, by herbs, employed upon occaſion of a violent paſſion from a jealous or diſappointed love, I have recourſe to the

the ſtrong impreſſions of fables and of poetry, to the eaſy miſtakes of popular opinions, to the force of imagination, to the ſecret virtues of ſeveral herbs, and to the powers of ſounds; and I am ſorry the natural hiſtory, or account of faſcination, has not employed the pen of ſome perſon of ſuch excellent wit and deep thought and learning as Caſaubon, who writ that curious and uſeful treatiſe of Enthuſiaſm, and by it diſcovered the hidden or miſtaken ſources of that deluſion, ſo frequent in all regions and religions of the world, and which had ſo fatally ſpread over our country in that age in which this treatiſe was ſo ſeaſonably publiſhed. It is much to be lamented that he lived not to complete that work in the ſecond part he promiſed, or that his friends neglected the publiſhing it, if it were left in papers, though looſe and unfiniſhed. I think a clear account of enthuſiaſm and faſcination, from their natural cauſes, would very much deſerve from mankind in general, as well as from the commonwealth of learning: might perhaps prevent ſo many public diſorders, and ſave the lives of many innocent, deluded, or deluding people, who ſuffer ſo frequently upon account of witches and wizards. I have ſeen many miſerable examples of this kind in my youth at home; and though the humour or faſhion be a good deal worn out of the world within thirty or forty years paſt, yet it ſtill remains in ſeveral remote parts of Germany, Sweden, and ſome other countries.

But to return to the charms of poetry: if the forſaken lover, in that eclogue of Virgil, had expected only from the force of her verſes, or her charms, what is the burden of the ſong, to bring Daphnis home from the town where he was gone, and engaged in a new amour; if ſhe had pretended only to revive an old fainting flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his breaſt; ſhe might, for aught I know, have compaſſed ſuch ends by the power of ſuch charms, and

without any other than very natural enchantments. For there is no queſtion but true poetry may have the force to raiſe paſſions, and to allay them, to change and to extinguiſh them, to temper joy and grief, to raiſe love and fear, nay, to turn fear into boldneſs, and love into indifference, and into hatred itſelf: and I eaſily believe that the diſheartened Spartans were new animated, and recovered their loſt courage, by the ſongs of Tyrtæus; that the cruelty and revenge of Phalaris were changed by the odes of Steſichorus into the greateſt kindneſs and eſteem; and that many men were as paſſionately enamoured by the charms of Sappho's wit and poetry, as by thoſe of beauty in Flora or Thais; for it is not only beauty gives love, but love gives beauty to the object that raiſes it; and if the poſſeſſion be ſtrong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always beauty enough in the perſon that gives it. Nor is it any great wonder that ſuch force ſhould be found in poetry, ſince in it are aſſembled all the powers of eloquence, of muſic, and of picture, which are allowed to make ſo ſtrong impreſſions upon human minds. How far men have been affected with all, or any of theſe, needs little proof or teſtimony: the examples have been known enough in Greece and in Italy, where ſome have fallen downright in love with the raviſhing beauties of a lovely object drawn by the ſkill of an admirable painter; nay, painters themſelves have fallen in love with ſome of their own productions, and doted on them as on a miſtreſs or a fond child; which diſtinguiſhes among the Italians the ſeveral pieces that are done by the ſame hand, into ſeveral degrees, of thoſe made con ſtudio, con diligenza, or con amore, whereof the laſt are ever the moſt excelling. But there needs no more inſtances of this kind than the ſtories related and believed by the beſt authors, as known and undiſputed, of the two young Grecians, one whereof ventured his life to be locked up all night in the temple,

and

and ſatisfy his paſſion with the embraces and enjoyment of a ſtatue of Venus that was there ſet up, and deſigned for another ſort of adoration; the other pined away and died for being hindered his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a ſtatute at Athens.

The powers of muſic are either felt or known by all men, and are allowed to work ſtrangely upon the mind and the body, the paſſions and the blood; to raiſe joy and grief, to give pleaſure and pain, to cure diſeaſes, and the mortal ſting of the tarantula; to give motions to the feet as well as the heart, to compoſe diſturbed thoughts, to aſſiſt and heighten devotion itſelf. We need no recourſe to the fables of Orpheus or Amphion, or the force of their muſic upon fiſhes and beaſts; it is enough that we find the charming of ſerpents, and the cure or allay of an evil ſpirit or poſſeſſion, attributed to it in ſacred writ.

For the force of eloquence, that ſo often raiſed and appeaſed the violence of popular commotions, and cauſed ſuch convulſions in the Athenian ſtate, no man need more to make him acknowledge it than to conſider Cæſar, one of the greateſt and wiſeſt of mortal men, come upon the tribunal full of hatred and revenge, and with a determined reſolution to condemn Labienus, yet upon the force of Cicero's eloquence (in an oration for his defence) begin to change countenance, turn pale, ſhake to that degree, that the papers he held fell out of his hand, as if he had been frighted with words, that never was ſo with blows; and at laſt change all his anger into clemency, and acquit the brave criminal, inſtead of condemning him.

Now, if the ſtrength of theſe three mighty powers be united in poetry, we need not wonder that ſuch virtues and ſuch honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inſpired, or has been

called divine; and yet I think it will not be disputed, that the force of wit and of reasoning, the height of conceptions and expressions, may be found in poetry as well as in oratory, the life and spirit of representation or picture as much as in painting, and the force of sounds as well as in music; and how far these three natural powers together may extend, and to what effect (even such as may be mistaken for supernatural or magical) I leave it to such men to consider, whose thoughts turn to such speculations as these, or who, by their native temper and genius, are, in some degree, disposed, or receive the impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder that the famous Dr. Harvey, when he was reading Virgil, should sometimes throw him down upon the table, and say he had a devil; nor that the learned Meric Casaubon should find such charming pleasures and emotions, as he describes upon the reading some parts of Lucretius; that so many should cry, and with downright tears, at some tragedies of Shakespear, and so many more should feel such turns or curdling of their blood upon the reading or hearing of some excellent pieces of poetry; nor that Octavia fell into a swoon at the recital made by Virgil of those verses in the sixth of his Æneids.

This is enough to assert the powers of poetry, and discover the ground of those opinions of old, which derived it from divine inspirations, and gave it so great a share in the supposed effects of sorcery or magic. But as the old romances seem to lessen the honour of true prowess and valour in their knights, by giving such a part in all their chief adventures to enchantment, so the true excellency and just esteem of poetry seems rather debased than exalted by the stories or belief of the charms performed by it, which, among the northern nations, grew so strong and so general, that, about five or six hundred years ago, all the Runic poetry came to be decried, and those ancient characters in which they

they were written to be aboliſhed by the zeal of biſhops, and even by orders and decrees of ſtate, which has given a great maim, or rather an irrecoverable loſs, to the ſtory of thoſe northern kingdoms, the ſeat of our anceſtors in all the weſtern parts of Europe.

The more true and natural ſource of poetry may be diſcovered, by obſerving to what god this inſpiration was aſcribed by the antients, which was Apollo, or the ſun, eſteemed among them the god of learning in general, but more particularly of muſic and of poetry. The myſtery of this fable means, I ſuppoſe, that a certain noble and vital heat of temper, but eſpecially of the brain, is the true ſpring of theſe two parts or ſciences: this was that celeſtial fire which gave ſuch a pleaſing motion and agitation to the minds of thoſe men that have been ſo much admired in the world, that raiſes ſuch infinite images of things ſo agreeable and delightful to mankind; by the influence of this ſun are produced thoſe golden and inexhauſted mines of invention, which has furniſhed the world with treaſures ſo highly eſteemed, and ſo univerſally known and uſed in all the regions that have yet been diſcovered. From this ariſes that elevation of genius, which can never be produced by any art or ſtudy, by pains or by induſtry, which cannot be taught by precepts or examples; and therefore is agreed by all to be the pure and free gift of heaven or of nature, and to be a fire kindled out of ſome hidden ſpark of the very firſt conception.

But though invention be the mother of poetry, yet this child is, like all others, born naked, and muſt be nouriſhed with care, clothed with exactneſs and elegance, educated with induſtry, inſtructed with art, improved by application, corrected with ſeverity, and accompliſhed with labour and with time, before it arrives at any great perfection or growth: it is certain that no compoſition requires ſo many ſeveral ingredients, or of more different ſorts than this, nor that, to excel

excel in any qualities, there are neceſſary ſo many gifts of nature, and ſo many improvements of learning and of art. For there muſt be an univerſal genius, of great compaſs as well as great elevation; there muſt be a ſprightly imagination or fancy, fertile in a thouſand productions, ranging over infinite ground, piercing into every corner, and by the light of that true poetical fire diſcovering a thouſand little bodies or images in the world, and ſimilitudes among them, unſeen to common eyes, and which could not be diſcovered without the rays of that ſun.

Beſides the heat of invention and livelineſs of wit, there muſt be the coldneſs of good ſenſe and ſoundneſs of judgment, to diſtinguiſh between things and conceptions, which, at firſt ſight, or upon ſhort glances, ſeem alike; to chooſe among infinite productions of wit and fancy, which are worth preſerving and cultivating, and which are better ſtifled in the birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the forces of wit, all poetry is flat and languiſhing; without the ſuccours of judgment, it is wild and extravagant. The true wit of poeſy is, that ſuch contraries muſt meet to compoſe it, a genius both penetrating and ſolid; in expreſſion both deliacy and force; and the frame or fabric of a true poem muſt have ſome thing both ſublime and juſt, amazing and agreeable. There muſt be a great agitation of mind to invent, a great calm to judge and correct; there muſt be, upon the ſame tree, and at the ſame time, both flower and fruit. To work up this metal into exquiſite figure, there muſt be employed the fire, the hammer, the chiſel, and the file. There muſt be a general knowledge both of nature and of arts, and, to go the loweſt that can be, there are required genius, judgment, and application; for, without this laſt, all the reſt will not ſerve turn, and none ever was a great poet that applied himſelf much to any thing elſe.

When

When I ſpeak of poetry, I mean not an ode or an elegy, a ſong or a ſatire, nor by a poet the compoſer of any of theſe, but of a juſt poem; and, after all I have ſaid, it is no wonder there ſhould be ſo few that appeared in any parts or any ages of the world, or that ſuch as have ſhould be ſo much admired, and have almoſt divinity aſcribed to them and to their works.

Whatever has been among thoſe who are mentioned with ſo much praiſe or admiration by the ancients, but are loſt to us, and unknown any further than their names, I think no man has been ſo bold among thoſe that remain to queſtion the title of Homer and Virgil, not only to the firſt rank, but to the ſupreme dominion in this ſtate, and from whom, as the great lawgivers as well as princes, all the laws and orders of it are or may be derived. Homer was, without diſpute, the moſt univerſal genius that has been known in the world, and Virgil the moſt accompliſhed. To the firſt muſt be allowed the moſt fertile invention, the richeſt vein, the moſt general knowledge, and the moſt lively expreſſion: to the laſt, the nobleſt ideas, the juſteſt inſtitution, the wiſeſt conduct, and the choiceſt elocution. To ſpeak in the painter's terms, we find, in the works of Homer, the moſt ſpirit, force, and life; in thoſe of Virgil, the beſt deſign, the trueſt proportions, and the greateſt grace; the colouring in both ſeems equal, and indeed is in both admirable. Homer had more fire and rapture, Virgil more light and ſwiftneſs; or at leaſt, the poetical fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the firſt more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The ore was richer in one, but in the other more refined, and better allayed to make up excellent work. Upon the whole, I think it muſt be confeſſed, that Homer was of the two, and perhaps of all others, the vaſteſt, the ſublimeſt, and the moſt wonderful genius; and that he has been generally ſo eſteemed, there can-

not be a greater teſtimony given, than what has been by ſome obſerved, that not only the greateſt maſters have found in his works the beſt and trueſt principles of all their ſciences or arts, but that the nobleſt nations have derived from them the original of their ſeveral races, though it be hardly yet agreed, whether his ſtory be true or a fiction. In ſhort, theſe two immortal poets muſt be allowed to have ſo much excelled in their kinds, as to have exceeded all compariſon, to have even extinguiſhed emulation, and in a manner confined true poetry, not only to their two languages, but to their very perſons. And I am apt to believe ſo much of the true genius of poetry in general, and of its elevation in theſe two particulars, that I know not, whether of all the numbers of mankind that live within the compaſs of a thouſand years, for one man that is born capable of making ſuch a poet as Homer or Virgil, there may not be a thouſand born capable of making as great generals of armies, or miniſters of ſtate, as any the moſt renowned in ſtory.

I do not here intend to make a further critic upon poetry, which were too great a labour; nor to give rules for it, which were as great a preſumption: beſides, there has been ſo much paper blotted upon theſe ſubjects, in this curious and cenſuring age, that it is all grown tedious or repetition. The modern French wits (or pretenders) have been very ſevere in their cenſures, and exact in their rules, I think to very little purpoſe; for I know not, why they might not have contented themſelves with thoſe given by Ariſtotle and Horace, and have tranſlated them rather than commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more; ſo as they ſeem, by their writings of this kind, rather to have valued themſelves, than improved any body elſe. The truth is, there is ſomething in the genius of poetry too libertine to be confined to ſo many rules: and whoever goes about to ſubject it to ſuch conſtraints

loſes

loſes both its ſpirit and grace, which are ever native, and never learned, even of the beſt maſters. It is as if, to make excellent honey, you ſhould cut off the wings of your bees, confine them to their hive or their ſtands, and lay flowers before them, ſuch as you think the ſweeteſt, and like to yield the fineſt extraction; you had as good pull out their ſtings, and make arrant drones of them. They muſt range through fields, as well as gardens, chooſe ſuch flowers as they pleaſe, and by proprieties and ſcents they only know and diſtinguiſh: they muſt work up their cells with admirable art, extract their honey with infinite labour, and ſever it from the wax with ſuch diſtinction and choice as belongs to none but themſelves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much mortification to theſe great arbitrary rulers among the French writers, or our own, to obſerve the worthy productions that have been formed by their rules, the honour they have received in the world, or the pleaſure they have given mankind; but, to comfort them, I do not know there was any great poet in Greece, after the rules of that art laid down by Ariſtotle; nor in Rome, after thoſe by Horace, which yet none of our moderns pretend to have outdone. Perhaps Theocritus and Lucan may be alledged againſt this aſſertion; but the firſt offered no further than at idyls or eclogues; and the laſt, though he muſt be avowed for a true and happy genius, and to have made ſome very high flights, yet he is ſo unequal to himſelf, and his muſe is ſo young, that his faults are too noted, to allow his pretences. Feliciter audet is the true character of Lucan, as of Ovid, Luſit amabiliter. After all, the utmoſt than can be atchieved, or I think pretended by any rules in this art, is but to hinder ſome men from being very ill poets, but not to make any man a very good one. To judge who is ſo, we need go no further for inſtruction than three lines of Horace.

Ille

——Ille meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus, et modo me Thebis, modo ponit
Athenis.

He is a poet,

Who vainly anguishes my breast,
Provokes, allays, and with false terror fills,
Like a magician, and now sets me down
In Thebes, and now in Athens,

Whoever does not affect and move the same present passions in you, that he represents in others, and at other times, raise images about you, as a conjurer is said to do spirits, transports you to the places and to the persons he describes, cannot be judged to be a poet, though his measures are never so just, his feet never so smooth, or his sounds never so sweet. But instead of critic, or rules concering poetry, I shall rather turn my thoughts to the history of it, and observe the antiquity, the uses, the changes, the decays, that have attended this great empire of wit.

It is, I think, generally agreed to have been the first sort of writing that has been used in the world; and in several nations to have preceded the very invention or usage of letters. This last is certain in America, where the first Spaniards met with many strains of poetry, and left several of them translated into their language, which seems to have flowed from a true poetic vein, before any letters were known in those regions. The same is probable of the Scythians, the Grecians, and the Germans. Aristotle says, the Agathyrsi had their laws all in verse; and Tacitus, that the Germans had no annals nor records but what were so; and for the Grecian oracles delivered in them, we have no certain account when they began, but rather reason to believe it was before the introduction of letters from Phœnicia among them. Pliny tells it, as a thing known, that Pherecides was the first who writ prose in

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the Greek tongue, and that he lived about the time of Cyrus, whereas Homer and Heſiod lived ſome hundreds of years before that age; and Orpheus, Linus, Muſæus, ſome hundreds before them: and of the Sibyls, ſeveral were before any of thoſe, and in times as well as places, whereof we have no clear records now remaining. What Solon and Pythagoras writ is ſaid to have been in verſe, who were ſomething older than Cyrus; and before them were Archilochus, Simonides, Tyrtæus, Sappho, Steſichorus, and ſeveral other poets famous in their times. The ſame thing is reported of Chaldea, Syria, and China; among the ancient weſtern Goths (our anceſtors) the Runic poetry ſeems to have been as old as their letters; and their laws, their precepts of wiſdom, as well as their records, their religious rites, as well as their charms and incantations, to have been all in verſe.

Among the Hebrews, and even in ſacred writ, the moſt ancient is by ſome learned men eſteemed to be the book of Job, and that it was written before the time of Moſes, and that it was a tranſlation into Hebrew out of the old Chaldæan or Arabian language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a Jew from the place of his abode, which appears to have been ſeated between the Chaldæans of one ſide, and the Sabeans (who were of Arabia) on the other; and, by many paſſages of that admirable and truly inſpired poem, the author ſeems to have lived in ſome parts near the mouth of Euphrates, or the Perſian gulph, where he contemplated the wonders of the deep, as well as the other works of nature common to thoſe regions. Nor is it eaſy to find any traces of the Moſaical rites or inſtitutions, either in the divine worſhip, or the morals related to in thoſe writings; for not only ſacrifices and praiſes were much more ancient in religious ſervice than the age of Moſes, but the opinion of one deity, and adored without any idol or repreſentation,

was

was profeſſed and received among the ancient Perſians and Hetruſcans and Chaldeans. So that if Job was an Hebrew, it is probable he may have been of the race of Heber, who lived in Chaldæa, or of Abraham, who is ſuppoſed to have left that country for the profeſſion or worſhip of one God, rather than from the branch of Iſaac and Iſrael, who lived in the land of Canaan. Now I think it is out of controverſy, that the book of Job was written originally in verſe, and was a poem upon the ſubject of the juſtice and power of God, and in vindication of his providence againſt the common arguments of atheiſtical men, who took occaſion to diſpute it from the uſual events of human things, by which ſo many ill and impious men ſeem happy and proſperous in the courſe of their lives, and ſo many pious and juſt men ſeem miſerable or afflicted. The Spaniſh tranſlation of the Jews in Ferrara, which pretends to render the Hebrew (as near as could be) word for word; and for which all tranſlators of the Bible ſince have had great regard, gives us the two firſt chapters and the laſt from the ſeventh verſe in proſe, as an hiſtorical introduction and concluſion of the work, and all the reſt in verſe, except the tranſitions from one part or perſon of this ſacred dialogue to another.

But if we take the books of Moſes to be the moſt ancient in the Hebrew tongue, yet the ſong of Moſes may probably have been written before the reſt; as that of Deborah before the book of Judges, being praiſes ſung to God upon the victories or ſucceſſes of the Iſraelites, related in both. And I never read the laſt, without obſerving in it as true and noble ſtrains of poetry and picture, as in any other language whatſoever, in ſpite of all diſadvantages from tranſlations into ſo different tongues and common proſe. If an opinion of ſome learned men, both modern and ancient, could be allowed, that Eſdras was the writer or compiler

piler of the firſt hiſtorical parts of the Old Teſtament, though from the ſame divine inſpiration as that of Moſes and the other prophets, then the Pſalms of David would be the firſt writings we find in Hebrew, and next to them the Song of Solomon, which was written when he was young, and Eccleſiaſtes when he was old: ſo that from all ſides, both ſacred and profane, it appears that poetry was the firſt ſort of writing known and uſed in the ſeveral nations of the world.

It may ſeem ſtrange, I confeſs, upon the firſt thought, that a ſort of ſtyle, ſo regular and ſo difficult, ſhould have grown in uſe before the other, ſo eaſy and ſo looſe: but if we conſider what the firſt end of writing was, it will appear probable from reaſon as well as experience; for the true and general end was but the help of memory, in preſerving that of words and of actions, which would otherwiſe have been loſt, and ſoon vaniſh away with the tranſitory paſſage of human breath and life. Before the diſcourſes and diſputes of philoſophers began to buſy or amuſe the Grecian wits, there was nothing written in proſe, but either laws, ſome ſhort ſayings of wiſe men, or ſome riddles, parables, or fables, wherein were couched by the ancients many ſtrains of natural and moral wiſdom and knowledge, and, beſides theſe, ſome ſhort memorials of perſons, actions, and of times.

Now it is obvious enough to conceive, how much eaſier all ſuch writings ſhould be learned and remembered in verſe than in proſe, not only by the pleaſure of meaſures and of ſounds, which gives a great impreſſion to memory, but by the order of feet, which makes a great facility of tracing one word after another, by knowing what ſort of foot or quantity muſt neceſſarily have preceded or followed the words we retain and deſire to make up.

This made poetry ſo neceſſary before letters were invented, and ſo convenient afterwards; and ſhews

that the great honour and general requeſt, wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only from the pleaſure and delight, but likewiſe from the uſefulneſs and profit, of poetical writings.

This leads me naturally to the ſubjects of poetry, which have been generally praiſe, inſtruction, ſtory, love, grief, and reproach. Praiſe was the ſubject of all the ſongs and pſalms mentioned in holy writ; of the hymns of Orpheus, of Homer, and many others; of the Carmina Secularia in Rome, compoſed all and deſigned for the honour of their gods; of Pindar, Steſichorus, and Tyrtæus in the praiſes of virtue, or virtuous men. The ſubject of Job is inſtruction concerning the attributes of God, and the works of nature. Thoſe of Simonides, Phocillides, Theognis, and ſeveral other of the ſmaller Greek poets, with what paſſes for Pythagoras's, are inſtructions in morality; the firſt book of Heſiod and Virgil's Georgics, in agriculture; and Lucretius in the deepeſt natural philoſophy. Story is the proper ſubject of heroic poems, as Homer and Virgil in their inimitable Iliads and Æneids; and Fable, which is a ſort of ſtory, in the Metamorphoſis of Ovid. The Lyric poetry has been chiefly converſant about love, though turned often upon praiſe too; and the vein of paſtorals and eclogues has run the ſame courſe, as may be obſerved in Theocritus, Virgil, and Horace, who was, I think, the firſt and laſt of true Lyric poets among the Latins: grief has been always the ſubject of elegy, and reproach that of ſatire. The dramatic poeſy has been compoſed of all theſe; but the chief end ſeems to have been inſtruction, and under the diſguiſe of fables, or the pleaſure of ſtory, to ſhew the beauties and the rewards of virtue, the deformities and misfortunes or puniſhment of vice; by examples of both to encourage one, and deter men from the other; to reform ill cuſtoms, correct ill manners, and moderate all violent paſſions. Theſe are the general

ral ſubjects of both parts, though comedy give us but the images of common life, and tragedy thoſe of the greater and more extraordinary paſſions and actions among men. To go further upon this ſubject would be to tread ſo beaten paths, that to travel in them only raiſes duſt, and is neither of pleaſure nor of uſe.

For the changes that have happened in poetry, I ſhall obſerve one ancient, and the others that are modern will be too remarkable, in the declines or decays of this great empire of wit. The firſt change of poetry was made by tranſlating it into proſe, or clothing it in thoſe looſe robes or common veils that diſguiſed or covered the true beauty of its features and exactneſs of its ſhape. This was done firſt by Æſop in Greek: but the vein was much more ancient in the eaſtern regions, and much in vogue, as we may obſerve in the many parables uſed in the Old Teſtament as well as in the New. And there is a book of fables of the ſort of Æſop's, tranſlated out of Perſian, and pretended to have been ſo, into that language out of the ancient Indian; but, though it ſeems genuine of the eaſtern countries, yet I do not take it to be ſo old, nor to have ſo much ſpirit, as the Greek. The next ſucceſſion of poetry in proſe ſeems to have been in the Miletian tales, which were a ſort of little paſtoral romances; and though much in requeſt in old Greece and Rome, yet we have no examples, that I know, of them, unleſs it be the Longi Paſtoralia, which gives a taſte of the great delicacy and pleaſure that was found ſo generally in thoſe ſort of tales. The laſt kind of poetry, in proſe, is that which in later ages has over-run the world under the name of Romances, which though it ſeems modern, and a production of the Gothic genius, yet the writing is ancient. The remainders of Petronius Arbiter ſeem to be of this kind, and that which Lucian calls his True hiſtory: but the moſt ancient that paſſes by the name is Heliodorus, famous for

the author's chooſing to loſe his biſhopric, rather than diſown that child of his wit. The true ſpirit or vein of ancient poetry in this kind ſeems to ſhine moſt in Sir Philip Sidney, whom I eſteem both the greateſt poet and the nobleſt genius of any that have left writings behind them, and publiſhed in ours or any other modern language; a perſon born capable not only of forming the greateſt ideas, but of leaving the nobleſt examples, if the length of his life had been equal to the excellence of his wit and virtues.

With him I leave the diſcourſe of ancient poetry; and to diſcover the decays of this empire, muſt turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the decays, or rather extinction, of the old: as if, true poetry being dead, an apparition of it walked about. This mighty change arrived by no ſmaller occaſions, nor more ignoble revolutions, than thoſe which deſtroyed the ancient empire and government of Rome, and erected ſo many new ones upon their ruins, by the invaſions and conqueſts, or the general inundations of the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous or northern nations, upon thoſe parts of Europe that had been ſubject to the Romans. After the conqueſts made by Cæſar upon Gaul, and the nearer parts of Germany, which were continued and enlarged in the times of Auguſtus and Tiberius by their lieutenants or generals, great numbers of Germans and Gauls reſorted to the Roman armies, and to the city itſelf, and habituated themſelves there, as many Spaniards, Syrians, Grecians, had done before, upon the conqueſt of thoſe countries. This mixture ſoon corrupted the purity of the Latin tongue, ſo that in Lucan, but more in Seneca, we find a great and harſh allay entered into the ſtyle of the Auguſtan age. After Trajan and Adrian had ſubdued many German and Scythian nations on both ſides of the Danube, the commerce of thoſe barbarous people grew very frequent with the Romans; and, I am apt to think

think, that the little verſes aſcribed to Adrian were in imitation of the Runic poetry. The *Scythicas pati pruinas* of Florus ſhews their race or climate; and the firſt rhime that ever I read in Latin, with little alluſions of letters or ſyllables, is in that of Adrian at his death.

O animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, lurida, timidula,
Nec ut ſoles dabis joca.

It is probable, the old ſpirit of poetry being loſt or frighted away by thoſe long and bloody wars with ſuch barbarous enemies, this new ghoſt began to appear in its room even about that age; or elſe that Adrian, who affected that piece of learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old vein, turned to a new one, which his expeditions into thoſe countries made more allowable in an emperor, and his axample recommended to others. In the time of Boëtius, who lived under Theodoric in Rome, we find the Latin poetry ſmell rank of this Gothic imitation, and the vein quite ſeared up.

After that age, learning grew every day more and more obſcured by that cloud of ignorance, which coming from the North, and increaſing with the numbers and ſucceſſes of thoſe barbarous people, at length overſhaded all Europe for ſo long together. The Roman tongue began itſelf to fail or be diſuſed, and by its corruption made way for the generation of three new languages in Spain, Italy, and France. The courts of the princes and nobles, who were of the conquering nations, for ſeveral ages uſed their Gothic, or Franc, or Saxon tongues, which were mingled with thoſe of Germany, where ſome of the Goths had ſojourned long before they proceeded to their conqueſts of the more ſouthern or weſtern parts. Where-ever the Roman colonies had long remained, and their lan-

guage had been generally ſpoken, the common people uſed that ſtill, but vitiated with the baſe allay of their provincial ſpeech. This in Charlemain's time was called in France, Ruſtica Romana, and in Spain, durng the Gothic reigns there, Romance; but in England, from whence all the Roman ſoldiers, and great numbers of the Britains moſt accuſtomed to their commerce and language, had been drained for the defence of Gaul againſt the barbarous nations that invaded it about the time of Valentinian, that tongue being wholly extinguiſhed (as well as their own) made way for the entire uſe of the Saxon language. With theſe changes the ancient poetry was wholly loſt in all theſe countries, and a new ſort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new name of rhimes, with an eaſy change of the Gothic word Runis, and not from the Greek Rythmes, as is vulgarly ſuppoſed.

Runes was properly the name of the ancient Gothic letters or characters, which were invented firſt or introduced by Odin, in the colony or kingdom of the Getes or Goths, which he planted in the north-weſt parts, and round the Baltic ſea, as has been before related. But, becauſe all the writings they had among them for many ages were in verſe, it came to be the common name of all ſorts of poetry among the Goths, and the writers or compoſers of them were called Runeis or Rymers. They had likewiſe another name for them, or for ſome ſorts of them, which was Viiſes or Wiſes; and becauſe the ſages of that nation expreſſed the beſt of their thoughts, and what learning, and prudence they had, in theſe kind of writings, they that ſucceeded beſt and with moſt applauſe were termed wiſe men; the good ſenſe, or learning, or uſeful knowledge contained in them was called wiſdom; and the pleaſant or facetious vein among them was called wit, which was applied to all ſpirit or race of poetry, where it was found in any man, and was generally pleaſing to thoſe that heard or read them.

Of theſe Runes there was in uſe among the Goths above a hundred ſeveral ſorts, ſome compoſed in longer, ſome in ſhorter lines, ſome equal, and others unequal, with many different cadencies, quantities, or feet, which in the pronouncing made many different ſorts of original or natural tunes. Some were framed with alluſions of words, or conſonance of ſyllables, or of letters, either in the ſame line, or in the diſtich, or by alternate ſucceſſion and reſemblance, which made a ſort of jingle that pleaſed the ruder ears of that people. And becauſe their language was compoſed moſt of monoſyllables, and of ſo great numbers, many muſt end in the ſame ſound. Another ſort of Runes were made, with the care and ſtudy of ending two lines, or each other of four lines, with words of the ſame ſound; which being the eaſieſt, requiring leſs art, and needing leſs ſpirit (becauſe a certain chime in the ſound ſupplied that want, and pleaſed common ears) this in time grew the moſt general among all the Gothic colonies in Europe, and made rhymes or Runes paſs for the modern poetry in theſe parts of the world.

This was not uſed only in their modern languages, but, during thoſe ignorant ages, even in that barbarous Latin which remained and was preſerved among the monks and prieſts, to diſtinguiſh them by ſome ſhew of learning from the laity, who might well admire it, in what degree ſoever, and reverence the profeſſors, when they themſelves could neither write nor read, even in their own language; I mean not only the vulgar laymen, but even the generality of nobles, barons, and princes among them; and this laſted till the ancient learning and languages began to be reſtored in Europe about two hundred years ago.

The common vein of the Gothic Runes was what is termed Dithyrambic, and was of a raving or rambling ſort of wit or invention, looſe and flowing, with little art or confinement to any certain meaſures or rules;

yet ſome of it wanted not the true ſpirit of poetry in ſome degree, or that natural inſpiration which has been ſaid to ariſe from ſome ſpark of poetical fire where-with particular men are born; and, ſuch as it was, it ſerved the turn, not only to pleaſe, but even to charm the ignorant and barbarous vulgar, where it was in uſe. This made the Runers among the Goths as much in requeſt and admired, as any of the ancient and moſt celebrated poets were among the learned nations; for among the blind, he that has one eye is a prince. They were, as well as the others, thought inſpired, and the charms of their Runic conceptions were generally eſteemed divine, or magical at leaſt.

The ſubjects of them were various, but commonly the ſame with thoſe already obſerved in the true ancient poetry. Yet this vein was chiefly employed upon the records of bold and martial actions, and the praiſes of valiant men that had fought ſucceſsfully or died bravely; and theſe ſongs or ballads were uſually ſung at feaſts, or in circles of young or idle perſons, and ſerved to inflame the humour of war, of ſlaughter, and of ſpoils among them. More refined honour or love had little part in the writings, becauſe it had little in the lives or actions of thoſe fierce people and bloody times. Honour among them conſiſted in victory, and love in rapes and in luſt.

But, as the true flame of poetry was rare among them, and the reſt was but wild-fire that ſparkled or rather crackled a while, and ſoon went out with little pleaſure or gazing of the beholders; thoſe Runers, who could not raiſe admiration by the ſpirit of their poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of enchantments: this came in to ſupply the defect of that ſublime and marvellous, which has been found both in poetry and proſe among the learned ancients. The Gothic Runers, to gain and eſtabliſh the credit and admiration of their rhimes, turned the uſe

of

of them very much to incantations and charms, pretending by them to raiſe ſtorms, to calm the ſeas, to cauſe terror in their enemies, to tranſport themſelves in the air, to conjure ſprits, to cure diſeaſes, and ſtanch bleeding wounds, to make women kind or eaſy, and men hard or invulnerable; as one of their moſt ancient Runers affirms of himſelf and his own atchievements, by force of theſe magical charms: the men or women, who were thought to perform ſuch wonders or enchantments, were from Vüſes or Wiſes, the name of thoſe verſes wherein their charms were conceived, called wizards or witches.

Out of this quarry ſeems to have been raiſed all thoſe trophies of enchantment that appear in the whole fabric of the old Spaniſh romances, which were the productions of the Gothic wit among them, during their reign; and, after the conqueſts of Spain by the Saracens, they were applied to the long wars between them and the Chriſtians. From the ſame, perhaps, may be derived all the viſionary tribe of fairies, elves, and goblins, of ſprites and of bullbeggars, that ſerve not only to fright children into whatever their nurſes pleaſe, but ſometimes, by laſting impreſſions, to diſquiet the ſleeps and the very lives of men and women till they grow to years of diſcretion; and that, God knows, is a period of time which ſome people arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never. At leaſt, this belief prevailed ſo far among the Goths and their races, that all ſorts of charms were not only attributed to their runes or verſes, but to their very characters; ſo that, about the eleventh century, they were forbidden and aboliſhed in Sweden, as they had been before in Spain, by civil and eccleſiaſtical commands or conſtitutions; and what has been ſince recovered of that learning or language has been fetched as far as Yſland itſelf.

How

How much of this kind and of this credulity remained even to our own age, may be obſerved by any man that reflects ſo far as thirty or forty years; how often avouched and how generally credited, were the ſtories of fairies, ſprites, witchcrafts, and enchantments? In ſome parts of France, and not longer ago, the common people believed certainly there were Lougaroos, or men turned into wolves; and I remember ſeveral Iriſh of the ſame mind. The remainders are woven into our very language; Mara, in old runic, was a goblin that ſeized upon men aſleep in their beds, and took from them all ſpeech and motion. Old Nicka was a ſprite that came to ſtrangle people who fell into the water: Bo was a fierce Gothic captain, ſon of Odin, whoſe name was uſed by his ſoldiers when they would fright or ſuprize their enemies; and the proverb of rhiming rats to death came I ſuppoſe from the ſame root.

There were, not longer ſince than the time I have mentioned, ſome remainders of the Runic poetry among the Iriſh. The great men of their Scepts, among the many officers of their family, which continued always in the ſame races, had not only a phyſician, a huntſman, a ſmith, and ſuch like, but a poet and a tale-teller; the firſt recorded and ſung the actions of their anceſtors, and entertained the company at feaſts; the latter amuſed them with tales when they were melancholy and could not ſleep: and a very gallant gentleman of the north of Ireland has told me of his own experience, that in his wolf-huntings there, when he uſed to be abroad in the mountains three or four days together, and lay very ill a-nights, ſo as he could not well ſleep, they would bring him one of theſe tale-tellers, that, when he lay down, would begin a ſtory of a king, or a giant, a dwarf and a damſel, and ſuch rambling ſtuff, and continue it all night long in ſuch an even tone, that you heard it going on whenever you

you waked; and he believed nothing any phyſicians give could have ſo good and ſo innocent effect to make men ſleep in any pains or diſtempers of body or mind. I remember in my youth ſome perſons of our country to have ſaid grace in rhimes, and others their conſtant prayers; and it is vulgar enough, that ſome deeds or conveyances of land have been ſo ſince the conqueſt.

In ſuch poor wretched weeds as theſe was poetry clothed, during thoſe ſhades of ignorance that overſpread all Europe for ſo many ages after the ſun-ſet of the Roman learning and empire together, which were ſucceeded by ſo many new dominions, or plantations of the Gothic ſwarms, and by a new face of cuſtoms, habit, language, and almoſt of nature; but upon the dawn of a new day, and the reſurrection of other ſciences, with the two learned languages, among us, this of poetry began to appear very early, though very unlike itſelf, and in ſhapes as well as cloaths, in humour and in ſpirit, very different from the ancient. It was now all in rhime, after the Gothic faſhion; for indeed none of the ſeveral dialects of that language or allay would bear the compoſure of ſuch feet and meaſures as were in uſe among the Greeks and Latins; and ſome that attempted it, ſoon left it off, deſpairing of ſucceſs. Yet in this new dreſs, poetry was not without ſome charms, eſpecially thoſe of grace and ſweetneſs, and the ore begun to ſhine in the hands and works of the firſt refiners. Petrach, Ronſard, Spencer, met with much applauſe upon the ſubjects of love, praiſe, grief, reproach. Arioſto and Taſſo entered boldly upon the ſcene of heroic poems; but, having not wings for ſo high flights, began to learn of the old ones, fell upon their imitations, and chiefly of Virgil as far as the force of their genius, or diſadvantage of new languages and cuſtoms, would allow. The religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the contexture of all the ancient poetry, with a very agreeable mixture,

which

which made moderns affect to give that of Chriſtianity a place alſo in their poems. But the true religion was not found to become fiction ſo well as a falſe had done, and all their attempts of this kind ſeemed rather to debaſe religion, than to heighten poetry. Spencer endeavoured to ſupply this with morality, and to make inſtruction, inſtead of ſtory, the ſubject of an epic poem. His execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high, but his deſign was poor, and his moral lay ſo bare, that it loſt the effect; it is true, the pill was gilded, but ſo thin that the colour and the taſte were too eaſily diſcovered.

After theſe three, I know none of the moderns that have made any atchievements in heroic poetry worth recording. The wits of the age ſoon left off ſuch bold adventures, and turned to other veins; as if, not worthy to ſit down at the feaſt, they contented themſelves with the ſcraps, with ſongs and ſonnets, with odes and elegies, with ſatires and panegyrics, and what we call copies of verſes upon any ſubjects or occaſions; wanting either genius or application for nobler or more laborious productions; as painters, that cannot ſucceed in great pieces, turn to miniature.

But the modern poets, to value this ſmall coin, and make it paſs, though of ſo much a baſer metal than the old, gave it a new mixture from two veins which were little known or little eſteemed among the ancients. There were indeed certain fairies in the old regions of poetry, called epigrams, which ſeldom reached above the ſtature of two, or four, or ſix lines, and which being ſo ſhort, were all turned upon conceit, or ſome ſharp hits of fancy or wit. The only ancient of this kind among the Latins were the Priapeïa, which were little voluntaries or extemporaries written upon the ridiculous wooden ſtatues of Priapus, among the gardens of Rome. In the decays of the Roman learning and wit, as well as language, Martial, Auſonius, and

others

others fell into this vein, and applied it indifferently to all ſubjects, which was before reſtrained to one, and dreſſed it ſomething more cleanly than it was born. This vein of conceit ſeemed proper for ſuch ſcraps or ſplinters into which poetry was broken, and was ſo eagerly followed, as almoſt to over-run all that was compoſed in our ſeveral modern languages; the Italian, the French, the Spaniſh, as well as Engliſh, were for a great while full of nothing elſe but conceit: it was an ingredient that gave taſte to compoſitions, which had little of themſelves; it was a ſauce that gave poinr to meat that was flat, and ſome life to colours that were fading; and, in ſhort, thoſe who could not furniſh ſpirit, ſupplied it with this ſalt, which may preſerve things or bodies that are dead; but is, for aught I know, of little uſe to the living, or neceſſary to meats that have much or pleaſing taſtes of their own. However it were, this vein firſt overflowed our modern poetry, and with ſo little diſtinction or judgment, that we would have conceit as well as rhime in every two lines, and run through all our long ſcribbles as well as the ſhort, and the whole body of the poem, whatever it is: this was juſt as if a building ſhould be nothing but ornament, or clothes nothing but trimming; as if a face ſhould be covered over with black patches, or a gown with ſpangles; which is all I ſhall ſay of it.

Another vein which has entered, and helped to corrupt our modern poeſy, is that of ridicule; as if nothing pleaſed but what made one laugh, which yet come from two very different affections of the mind; for as men have no diſpoſition to laugh at things they are moſt pleaſed with, ſo they are very little pleaſed with many things they laugh at.

But this miſtake is very general, and ſuch modern poets as found no bettter way of pleaſing, thought they could not fail of it by ridiculing. This was encouraged

couraged by finding converſation run ſo much into the ſame vein, and the wits in vogue to take up with that part of it which was formerly left to thoſe that were called fools, and were uſed in great families only to make the company laugh. What opinion the Romans had of this character, appears in thoſe lines of Horrace:

——Abſentem qui rodit amicum,
Qui non defendit, alio culpante, ſolutos
Qui captat riſus hominum famamque dicacis,
Fingere qui non viſa poteſt, commiſſa tacere
Qui nequit, hic niger eſt, hunc tu Romane caveto.

And it is pity the character of a wit, in one age, ſhould be ſo like that of a black in another.

Rabelais ſeems to have been father of the ridicule; a man of excellent and univerſal learning, as well as wit: and though he had too much game given him for ſatire in that age, by the cuſtoms of courts and of convents, of proceſſes and of wars, of ſchools and of camps, of romances and legends, yet he muſt be confeſſed to have kept up his vein of ridicule, by ſaying many things ſo malicious, ſo ſmutty, and ſo profane, that either a prudent, a modeſt, or a pious man could not have afforded, though he had never ſo much of that coin about him: and it were to be wiſhed, that the wits who have followed his vein had not put too much value upon a dreſs that better underſtandings would not wear (at leaſt in public) and upon a compaſs they gave themſelves, which other men would not take. The matchleſs writer of Don Quixote is much more to be admired, for having made up ſo excellent a compoſition of ſatire or ridicule without thoſe ingredients, and ſeems to be the beſt and higheſt ſtrain that ever was, or will be, reached by that vein.

It began firſt in verſe, with an Italian poem, called La Secchia Rapita; was purſued by Scarron in French with his Virgil Taveſty; and in Engliſh by Sir John Mince, Hudibras, and Cotton, and with greater height of burleſque in the Engliſh than, I think, in any other language. But, let the execution be what it will, the deſign, the cuſtom, and example are very pernicious to poetry, and indeed to all virtue and good qualities among men, which muſt be diſheartened by finding how unjuſtly and undiſtinguiſhed they fall under the laſh of raillery, and this vein ridiculing the good as well as the ill, the guilty and the innocent together. It is a very poor, though common, pretence to merit, to make it appear by the faults of other men. A mean wit or beauty may paſs in a room, where the reſt of the company are allowed to have none; it is ſomething to ſparkle among diamonds, but to ſhine among pebbles is neither credit nor value worth the pretending.

Beſides theſe two veins brought in to ſupply the defects of the modern poetry, much application has been made to the ſmoothneſs of language or ſtyle, which has at the beſt but the beauty of colouring in a picture, and can never make a good one without ſpirit and ſtrength. The academy ſet up by Cardinal Richelieu to amuſe the wits of that age and country, and divert them from raking into his politics and miniſtry, brought this in vogue; and the French wits have for this laſt age been in a manner wholly turned to the refinement of their language, and indeed with ſuch ſucceſs, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their verſe and their proſe. The ſame vein has been likewiſe much cultivated in our modern Engliſh poetry; and by ſuch poor recruits have the broken forces of this empire been of late made up, with what ſucceſs I leave to be judged by ſuch as conſider it in the former heights and the preſent declines, both of power and of honour; but this will

not

not diſcourage, however it may affect, the true lovers of this miſtreſs, who muſt ever think her a beauty in rags as well as in robes.

Among theſe many decays, there is yet one ſort of poetry that ſeems to have ſucceeded much better with our moderns than any of the reſt, which is dramatic, or that of the ſtage: in this the Italian, the Spaniſh, and the French have all had their different merit, and received their juſt applauſes. Yet I am deceived, if our Engliſh has not in ſome kind excelled both the modern and the ancient, which has been by force of a vein natural perhaps to our country, and which with us is called humour, a word peculiar to our language too, and hard to be expreſſed in any other; nor is it (that I know of) found in any foreign writers, unleſs it be Moliere, and yet his itſelf has too much of the farce to paſs for the ſame with ours. Shakeſpear was the firſt that opened this vein upon our ſtage, which has run ſo freely and ſo pleaſantly ever ſince, that I have often wondered to find it appear ſo little upon any others, being a ſubject ſo proper for them; ſince humour is but a picture of particular life, as comedy is of general; and though it repreſents diſpoſitions and cuſtoms leſs common, yet they are not leſs natural than thoſe that are more frequent among men; for if humour itſelf be forced, it loſes all the grace; which has been indeed the fault of ſome of our poets moſt celebrated in this kind.

It may ſeem a defect in the ancient ſtage, that the characters introduced were ſo few, and thoſe ſo common; as a covetous old man, an amorous young, a witty wench, a crafty ſlave, a bragging ſoldier: the ſpectators met nothing upon the ſtage, but what they met in the ſtreets, and at every turn. All the variety is drawn only from different and uncommon events; whereas, if the characters are ſo too, the diverſity and the pleaſure muſt needs be the more. But as of moſt

general cuſtoms in a country there is uſually ſome ground from the nature of the people or the climate, ſo there may be amongſt us, for this vein of our ſtage and a greater variety of humour in the picture, becauſe there is a greater variety in the life. This may proceed from the native plenty of our ſoil, the unequalneſs of our climate, as well as the eaſe of our government, and the liberty of profeſſing opinions and factions, which perhaps our neighbours may have about them, but are forced to diſguiſe, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguiſhed. Plenty begets wantonneſs and pride; wantonneſs is apt to invent, and pride ſcorns to imitate; liberty begets ſtomach or heart, and ſtomach will not be conſtrained. Thus we come to have more originals, and more that appear what they are; we have more humour, becauſe every man follows his own, and takes a pleaſure, perhaps a pride, to ſhew it.

On the contrary, where the people are generally poor, and forced to hard labour, their actions and lives are all of a piece; where they ſerve hard maſters they muſt follow his examples as well as commands, and are forced upon imitation in ſmall matters, as well as obedience in great: ſo that ſome nations look as if they were caſt all by one mould, or cut out all by one pattern (at leaſt the common people in one, and the gentlemen in another): they ſeem all of a ſort in their habits, their cuſtoms, and even their talk and converſation, as well as in the application and purſuit of their actions and their lives.

Beſides all this, there is another ſort of variety amongſt us which ariſes from our climate, and the diſpoſitions it naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another than any nation I know, but we are more unlike ourſelves too at ſeveral times, and owe to our very air ſome ill quallities as well as many good. We may allow ſome diſtempers incident to

our climate, ſince ſo much health, vigour, and length of life have been generally aſcribed to it; for among the Greek and Roman authors themſelves we ſhall find the Britons obſerved to live the longeſt, and the Egyptians the ſhorteſt, of any nations that were known in thoſe ages. Beſides, I think none will diſpute the native courage of our men, and beauty of our women, which may be elſewhere as great in particulars, but no where ſo in general; they may be (what is ſaid of diſeaſes) as acute in other places, but with us they are epidemical. For my own part, who have converſed much with men of other nations, and ſuch as have been both in great employments and eſteem, I can ſay very impartially, that I have not obſerved, among any, ſo much true genius as among the Engliſh; no where more ſharpneſs of wit, more pleaſantneſs of humour, more range of fancy, more penetration of thought or depth of reflection among the better ſort; no where more goodneſs of nature and of meaning, nor more plainneſs of ſenſe and of life, than among the common ſort of country people; nor more blunt courage and honeſty than among our ſeamen.

But, with all this, our country muſt be confeſſed to be what a great foreign phyſician called it, the region of ſpleen; which may ariſe a good deal from the great uncertainty and many ſudden changes of our weather in all ſeaſons of the year. And how much theſe affect the heads and hearts, eſpecially of the fineſt tempers, is hard to be believed by men whoſe thoughts are not turned to ſuch ſpeculations. This makes us unequal in our humours, inconſtant in our paſſions, uncertain in our ends, and even in our deſires. Beſides, our different opinions in religion, and the factions they have raiſed or animated for fifty years paſt, have had an ill effect upon our manners and cuſtoms, inducing more avarice, ambition, diſguiſe (with the uſual conſequences of them) than were before in our conſtitution.

tion. From all this it may happen, that there is no where more true zeal in the many different forms of devotion, and yet no where more knavery under the ſhews and pretences. There are no where ſo many diſputers upon religion, ſo many reaſoners upon government, ſo many refiners in politics, ſo many curious inquiſitives, ſo many pretenders to buſineſs and ſtate-employments, greater porers upon books, nor plodders after wealth; and yet no where more abandoned libertines, more refined luxuriſts, extravagant debauchees, conceited gallants, more dablers in poetry as well as politics, in philoſophy, and in chemiſtry. I have had ſeveral ſervants far gone in divinity, others in poetry; have known, in the families of ſome friends, a keeper deep in the Roſycrucian principles, and a laundreſs firm in thoſe of Epicurus. What effect ſoever ſuch a compoſition or medley of humours among us may have upon our lives or our government, it muſt needs have a good one upon our ſtage, and has given admirable play to our comical wits; ſo that, in my opinion, there is no vein of that ſort, either ancient or modern, which excels or equals the humour of our plays. And, for the reſt, I cannot but obſerve to the honour of our country, that the good qualities amongſt us ſeem to be natural, and the ill ones more accidental, and ſuch as would be eaſily changed by the examples of princes, and by the precepts of laws; ſuch I mean, as ſhould be deſigned to form manners, to reſtrain exceſſes, to encourage induſtry, to prevent men's expences beyond their fortunes, to countenance virtue, and raiſe that true eſteem due to plain ſenſe and common honeſty.

But to ſpin off this thread, which is already grown too long; what honour and requeſt the ancient poetry has lived in, may not only be obſerved from the univerſal reception and uſe in all nations from China to Peru, from Scythia to Arabia, but from the eſteem of the beſt and the greateſt men, as well as the vulgar-

Among the Hebrews, David and Solomon, the wiſeſt kings, Job and Jeremiah, the holieſt men, were the beſt poets of their nation and language. Among the Greeks, the two moſt renowneded ſages and lawgivers were Lycurgus and Solon, whereof the laſt is known to have excelled in poetry, and the firſt was ſo great a lover of it, that to his care and induſty we are ſaid (by ſome authors) to owe the collection and preſervation of the looſe and ſcattered pieces of Homer in the order wherein they have ſince appeared. Alexander is reported neither to have travelled nor ſlept without thoſe admirable poems always in his company. Phalaris, that was inexorable to all other enemies, relented at the charms of Steſichorus his muſe. Among the Romans, the laſt and great Scipio paſſed the ſoft hours of his life in the converſation of Terence, and was thought to have a part in the compoſition of his comedies. Cæſar was an excellent poet as well as orator, and compoſed a poem in his voyage from Rome to Spain, relieving the tedious difficulties of his march with the entertainments of his muſe. Auguſtus was not only a patron, but a friend and companion of Virgil and Horace, and was himſelf both an admirer of poetry, and a pretender too, as far as his genius would reach, or his buſy ſcene allow. It is true, ſince his age we have few ſuch examples of great princes favouring or affecting poetry, and as few perhaps of great poets deſerving it. Whether it be that the fierceneſs of the Gothic humours, or noiſe of their perpetual wars, frighted it away, or that the unequal mixture of the modern languages would not bear it; certain it is, that the great heights and excellency both of poetry and muſic fell with the Roman learning and empire, and have never ſince recovered the admiration and applauſes that before attended them: yet, ſuch as they are among us, they muſt be confeſſed to be the ſofteſt and ſweeteſt, the moſt general and

moſt innocent amuſements of common time and life. They ſtill find room in the courts of princes and the cottages of ſhepherds: they ſerve to revive and animate the dead calm of poor or idle lives, and to allay or divert the violent paſſions and perturbations of the greateſt and the buſieſt men. And both theſe effects are of equal uſe to human life: for the mind of man is like the ſea, which is neither agreeable to the beholder nor the voyager in a calm or in a ſtorm, but is ſo to both when a little agitated by gentle gales; and ſo the mind, when moved by ſoft and eaſy paſſions and affections. I know very well that many, who pretend to be wiſe by the forms of being grave, are apt to deſpiſe both poetry and muſic as toys and trifles too light for the uſe or entertainment of ſerious men: but whoever find themſelves wholly inſenſible to theſe charms, would, I think, do well to keep their own counſel, for fear of reproaching their own temper, and bringing the goodneſs of their natures, if not of their underſtandings, into queſtion: it may be thought at leaſt an ill ſign, if not an ill conſtitution, ſince ſome of the fathers went ſo far, as to eſteem the love of muſic a ſign of predeſtination, as a thing divine, and reſerved for the felicities of heaven itſelf. While this world laſts, I doubt not but the pleaſure and requeſts of theſe two entertainments will do ſo too: and happy thoſe that content themſelves with theſe, or any other ſo eaſy and ſo innocent, and do not trouble the world, or other men, becauſe they cannot be quiet themſelves, though no body hurts them!

When all is done, human life is, at the greateſt and the beſt, but like a froward child, that muſt be played with and humoured a little to keep it quiet till it falls aſleep, and then the care is over.

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

ANCIENT and MODERN LEARNING*.

—— Juvat antiquos accedere fontes.

WHoever converſes much among the old books will be ſomething hard to pleaſe among the new; yet theſe muſt have their part too in the leiſure of an idle man, and have many of them their beauties as well as their defaults. Thoſe of ſtory, or relations of matter of fact, have a value from their ſubſtance as much as from their form; and the variety of events is ſeldom without entertainment or inſtruction, how indifferently ſoever the tale is told. Other ſorts of writings have little of eſteem, but what

* The ſecond part of the *Miſcellanea*, as firſt publiſhed, contained four eſſays,

I. Upon ancient and modern learning.
II. Upon the gardens of Epicurus.
III. Upon heroic virtue.
IV. Upon poetry.

(for which ſee the table of contents to this volume) and was inſcribed to the univerſity of Cambridge in theſe words:

ALMÆ MATRI
ACADEMIÆ
CANTABRIGIENSI,
HAS QUALESCUNQUE NUGAS
AT REI LITERARIÆ NON ALIENAS,
D.D. Dq;
ALUMNUS OLIM
ET SEMPER OBSERVANTISSIMUS
W. TEMPLE.

they

they received from the wit, learning, or genius of the authors, and are ſeldom met with of any excellency, becauſe they do but trace over the paths that have been beaten by the ancients, or comment, critique, and flouriſh upon them, and are at beſt but copies after thoſe originals, unleſs upon ſubjects never touched by them; ſuch as are all that relate to the different conſtitutions of religious laws or governments in ſeveral countries, with all matters of controverſy that ariſe upon them.

Two pieces that have lately pleaſed me (abſtracted from any of theſe ſubjects) are, one in Engliſh upon the Antediluvian World; and another in French upon the Plurality of Worlds; one writ by a divine, and the other by a gentleman, but both very finely in their ſeveral kinds, and upon their ſeveral ſubjects, which would have made very poor work in common hands: I was ſo pleaſed with the laſt (I mean the faſhion of it rather than the matter, which is old and beaten, that I enquired for what elſe I could of the ſame hand, till I met with a ſmall piece concerning poeſy, which gave me the ſame exception to both theſe authors, whom I ſhould otherwiſe have been very partial to. For the firſt could not end his learned treatiſe without a panegyric of modern learning and knowledge in compariſon of the ancient: and the other falls ſo groſly into the cenſure of the old poetry, and preference of the new, that I could not read either of theſe ſtrains without ſome indignation, which no quality among men is ſo apt to raiſe in me as ſufficiency, the worſt compoſition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind. But theſe two being not the only perſons of the age that defend theſe opinions, it may be worth examining how far either reaſon or experience can be allowed to plead or determine in their favour.

The force of all that I have met with upon this ſubject, either in talk or writings is, firſt, as to knowledge; that we muſt have more than the ancients, becauſe we

have the advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illuſtrated by the ſimilitude of a dwarf's ſtanding upon a giant's ſhoulders, and ſeeing more or farther than he. Next as to wit or genius, that, nature being ſtill the ſame, theſe muſt be much at a rate in all ages, at leaſt in the ſame climates, as the growth and ſize of plants and animals commonly are; and if both theſe are allowed, they think the cauſe is gained. But I cannot tell why we ſhould conclude, that the ancient writers had not as much advantage from the knowledge of others that were ancient to them, as we have from thoſe that are ancient to us. The invention of printing has not perhaps multiplied books, but only the copies of them; and if we believe there were ſix hundred thouſand in the library of Ptolemy, we ſhall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, not perhaps by all put together: I mean ſo many originals, that have lived any time, and thereby given teſtimony of their having been thought worth preſerving. For the ſcribblers are infinite, that like muſhrooms or flies are born and die in ſmall circles of time, whereas books, like proverbs, receive their chief value from the ſtamp and eſteem of ages through which they have paſſed. Beſides the account of this library at Alexandria, and others very voluminous in the Leſſer Aſia and Rome, we have frequent mention of ancient writers in many of thoſe books which we now call ancient, both philoſophers and hiſtorians. It is true, that beſides what we have in Scripture concerning the original and progreſs of the Jewiſh nation, all that paſſed in the reſt of our world, before the Trojan war, is either ſunk in the depths of time, wrapped up in the myſteries of fables, or ſo maimed by the want of teſtimonies and loſs of authors, that it appears to us in too obſcure a ſhade to make any judgment upon it. For the fragments of Manethon about the antiquities of Egypt, the relations in Juſtin concerning the Scythian empire, and many others

others in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as well as the records of China, make ſuch excurſions beyond the periods of time given us by the holy ſcriptures, that we are not allowed to reaſon upon them. And this diſagreement itſelf, after ſo great a part of the world became Chriſtian, may have contributed to the loſs of many ancient authors. For Solomon tells us even in his time, of writing many books there was no end; and whoever conſiders the ſubject and the ſtyle of Job, which by many is thought more ancient than Moſes, will hardly think it was written in an age or country that wanted either books or learning; and yet he ſpeaks of the ancients then, and their wiſdom, as we do now.

But if any ſhould ſo very raſhly and preſumptuouſly conclude, that there were few books before thoſe we have either extant or upon record; yet that cannot argue there was no knowledge or learning before thoſe periods of time whereof they give us the ſhort account. Books may be helps to learning and knowledge, and make it more common and diffuſed; but I doubt whether they are neceſſary ones or no, or much advance any other ſcience, beyond the particular records of actions or regiſters of time; and theſe perhaps might be as long preſerved without them, by the care and exactneſs of tradition in the long ſucceſſions of certain races of men with whom they were intruſted. So in Mexico and Peru, before the leaſt uſe or mention of letters, there was remaining among them the knowledge of what had paſſed in thoſe mighty nations and governments for many ages; whereas in Ireland, that is ſaid to have flouriſhed in books and learning before they had much progreſs in Gaul or Britany, there are now hardly any traces left of what paſſed there before the conqueſt made of that country by the Engliſh in Henry IId's time. A ſtrange but plain demonſtration how knowledge and ignorance, as well as civility and barbariſm,

barbariſm, may ſucceed each other in the ſeveral countries of the world; how much better the records of time may be kept by tradition in one country than by writing in another; and how much we owe to thoſe learned languages of Greek and Latin, without which, for aught I know, the world in all theſe Weſtern parts would hardly be known to have been above five or ſix hundred years old, nor any certainty remain of what paſſed in it before that time.

It is true, in the Eaſtern regions there ſeems to have been a general cuſtom of the prieſts in each country, having been, either by their own choice, or by deſign of their governments, the perpetual conſervers of knowledge and ſtory. Only in China, this laſt was committed particularly to certain officers of ſtate, who were appointed or continued, upon every acceſſion to that crown, to regiſter diſtinctly the times and memorable events of each reign. In Æthiopia, Ægypt, Chaldea, Perſia, Syria, Judea, theſe cares were committed wholly to the prieſts, who were not leſs diligent in the regiſters of times and actions, than in the ſtudy and ſucceſſive propagation thereby of all natural ſcience and philoſophy. Whether this was managed by letters, or tradition, or by both; it is certain the ancient colleges, or ſocieties of prieſts, were mighty reſervoirs or lakes of knowledge, into which ſome ſtreams entered perhaps every age, from the obſervations or inventions of any great ſpirits or tranſcendent genius's that happen to riſe among them; and nothing was loſt out of theſe ſtores, ſince the part of conſerving what others have gained, either in knowledge or empire, is as common and eaſy as the other is hard and rare among men.

In theſe ſoils were planted and cultivated thoſe mighty growths of aſtronomy, aſtrology, magic, geometry, natural philoſophy, and ancient ſtory. From theſe ſources Orpheus, Homer, Lycurgus, Pythagoras, Plato, and

and others of the ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all thoſe depths of knowledge or learning, which have made them ſo renowned in all ſucceeding ages. I make a diſtinction between theſe two, taking knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by conſent of thoſe that firſt found them out, or have been ſince inſtructed in them; but learning is the knowledge of the different and conteſted opinions of men in former ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes ſo much of one, and ſo little of the other in the world.

Now to judge, whether the ancients or moderns can be probably thought to have made the greateſt progreſs in the ſearch and diſcoveries of the vaſt region of truth and nature, it will be worth enquiring, what guides have been uſed, and what labours employed, by the one and the other, in theſe noble travels and purſuits.

The modern ſcholars have their uſual recourſe to the univerſities of their countries; ſome few it may be to thoſe of their neighbours; and this in queſt of books, rather than men, for their guides, though theſe are living, and thoſe, in compariſon, but dead inſtructors; which like a hand, with an inſcription, can point out the ſtraight way upon the road, but can neither tell you the next turnings, reſolve your doubts, or anſwer your queſtions, like a guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his chamber. And who are theſe dead guides we ſeek in our journey? They are at beſt but ſome few authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in Greek or Latin, from the age of Hippocrates to that of Marcus Antoninus, which reaches not much above ſix hundred years: before that time I knew none, beſides ſome poets, ſome fables, and ſome few epiſtles; and ſince that time, I know very few that can pretend to be authors rather than

tranſcribers

tranſcribers or commentators, of the ancient learning. Now to conſider at what ſources our ancients drew their water, and with what unwearied pains: it is evident, Thales and Pythagoras were the two founders of the Grecian philoſophy; the firſt gave beginning to the Ionic ſect, and the other to the Italic; out of which, all the other celebrated in Greece or Rome were derived or compoſed: Thales was the firſt of the Sophi, or wiſe men famous in Greece, and is ſaid to have learned his aſtronomy, geometry, aſtrology, theology, in his travels from his country Miletius to Egypt, Phœnicia, Crete, and Delphos: Pythagoras was the father of philoſophers, and of the virtues; having in modeſty choſen the name of a lover of wiſdom, rather than of wiſe; and having firſt introduced the names of the four cardinal virtues, and given them the place and rank they have held ever ſince in the world: of theſe two mighty men remain no writings at all, for thoſe golden verſes that go under the name of Pythagoras are generally rejected as ſpurious, like many other fragments of Sybils, or old poets, and ſome entire poems that run with ancient names: nor is it agreed, whether he ever left any thing written to his ſcholars or cotemporaries; or whether all that learned of him, did it not by the ear and memory; and all that remained of him for ſome ſucceding ages, were not by tradition. But whether theſe ever writ or no, they were the fountains out of which the following Greek philoſophers drew all thoſe ſtreams that have ſince watered the ſtudies of the learned world, and furniſhed the voluminous writings of ſo many ſects, as paſſed afterwards under the common name of philoſophers.

As there were guides to thoſe that we call ancients, ſo there were others that were guides to them, in whoſe ſearch they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than that all the learning of the Greeks was deduced originally from

Egypt

Ægypt or Phœnicia; but, whether theirs might not have flouriſhed to that degree it did, by the commerce of the Æthiopians, Chaldeans, Arabians, and Indians, is not ſo evident (though I am very apt to believe it) and to moſt of theſe regions ſome of the Grecians travelled in ſearch of thoſe golden mines of learning and knowledge; not to mention the voyages of Orpheus, Muſæus, Lycurgus, Thales, Solon, Democritus, Herodotus, Plato, and that vain ſophiſt Apollonius (who was but an ape of the ancient philoſophers) I ſhall only trace thoſe of Pythagoras, who ſeems of all others to have gone the fartheſt upon this deſign, and to have brought home the greateſt treaſures. He went firſt to Ægypt, where he ſpent two-and-twenty years in ſtudy and converſation, among the ſeveral colleges of prieſts, in Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis, was initiated in all their ſeveral myſteries, in order to gain admittance and inſtruction in the learning and ſciences that were there in their higheſt aſcendent. Twelve years he ſpent in Babylon, and in the ſtudies and learning of the prieſts or Magi of the Chaldeans. Beſides theſe long abodes in thoſe two regions celebrated for ancient learning, and where one author, according to their calculation, ſays, he gained the obſervations of innumerable ages, he travelled likewiſe upon the ſame ſcent into Æthiopia, Arabia, India, to Crete, to Delphos, and to all the oracles that were renowned in any of theſe regions.

What ſort of mortals ſome of thoſe may have been, that he went ſo far to ſeek, I ſhall only endeavour to trace out by the moſt ancient accounts that are given of the Indian Brachmans, ſince thoſe of the learned or ſages in the other countries occur more frequent in ſtory. Theſe were all of one race or tribe, that was kept chaſte from any other mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the ſervice of the Gods, to the ſtudies of wiſdom and nature, and to the counſel of their

princes,

princes. There was not only particular care taken of their birth and nature, but even from their conception: for when a woman among them was known to have conceived, much thought and diligence was employed about her diet and entertainments, ſo far as to furniſh her with pleaſant imaginations, to compoſe her mind and her ſleeps with the beſt temper during the time ſhe carried her burden. This I take to be a ſtrain beyond all the Grecian wit, or the conſtitutions even of their imaginary lawgivers, who began their cares of mankind only after their birth, and none before. Thoſe of the Brachmans continued in the ſame degree for their education and inſtruction, in which, and their ſtudies, and diſcipline of their colleges, or ſeparate abodes in woods and fields, they ſpent thirty-ſeven years. Their learning and inſtitutions were unwritten, and only traditional among themſelves by a perpetual ſucceſſion. Their opinions in natural philoſophy were, that the world was round, that it had a beginning, and would have an end, but reckoned both by immenſe periods of time; that the author of it was a ſpirit, or a mind, that pervaded the whole univerſe, and was diffuſed through all the parts of it. They held the tranſmigration of ſouls, and ſome uſed diſcourſes of infernal manſions, in many things like thoſe of Plato. Their moral philoſophy conſiſted chiefly in preventing all diſeaſes or diſtempers of the body, from which they eſteemed the perturbation of mind, in a great meaſure, to ariſe; then, in compoſing the mind and exempting it from all anxious cares, eſteeming the troubleſome and ſolicitous thoughts about paſt and future, to be like ſo many dreams, and no more to be regarded. They deſpiſed both life and death, pleaſure and pain, or at leaſt thought them perfectly indifferent. Their juſtice was exact and exemplary; their temperance ſo great, that they lived upon rice or herbs, and upon nothing that had ſenſitive life.

life. If they fell ſick, they counted it ſuch a mark of intemperance, that they would frequently die out of ſhame and ſullenneſs: but many lived a hundred and fifty, and ſome two hundred years.

Their wiſdom was ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome of them were always employed to follow the courts of their kings, to adviſe them upon all occaſions, and inſtruct them in juſtice and piety; and upon this regard, Calanus, and ſome others, are ſaid to have followed the camp of Alexander after his conqueſt of one of their kings. The magical operations reported of them are ſo wonderful, that they muſt either be wholly diſbelieved, or will make eaſy way for the credit of all thoſe that we ſo often meet with in the latter relations of the Indies. Above all the reſt, their fortitude was moſt admirable in their patience and endurance of all evils, of pain, and of death; ſome ſtanding, ſitting, lying, without any motion whole days together in the ſcorching ſun; others ſtanding whole nights upon one leg, and holding up a heavy piece of wood or ſtone in both hands, without ever moving (which might be done, upon ſome ſort of penances uſual among them). They frequently ended their lives by their own choice, and not neceſſity, and moſt uſually by fire; ſome upon ſickneſs; others upon misfortunes; ſome upon mere ſatiety of life: ſo Calanus, in Alexander's time, burnt himſelf publickly upon growing old and infirm; Zormanochages, in the time of Auguſtus, upon his conſtant health and felicity, and to prevent his living ſo long as to fall into diſeaſes or misfortunes. Theſe were the Brachmans of India, by the moſt ancient relations remaining of them, and which, compared with our modern (ſince navigation and trade have diſcovered ſo much of thoſe vaſt countries) make it eaſy to conjecture that the preſent Baniams have derived from them many of their cuſtoms and opinions, which are ſtill very like them, after the courſe of two thouſand

ſand years. For how long nations, without the changes introduced by conqueſt, may continue in the ſame cuſtoms, inſtitutions, and opinions, will be eaſily obſerved in the ſtories of the Peruvians and Mexicans, of the Chineſes and Scythians; theſe laſt being deſcribed by Herodotus to lodge always in carts, and to feed commonly upon the milk of mares, as the Tartars are reported to do at this time in many parts of thoſe vaſt northern regions.

From theſe famous Indians, it ſeems to be moſt probable that Pythagoras learned, and tranſported into Greece and Italy, the greateſt part of his natural and moral philoſophy, rather than from the Egyptians, as is commonly ſuppoſed; for I have not obſerved any mention of the tranſmigration of ſouls held among the Egyptians, more ancient than the time of Pythagoras: on the contrary, Orpheus is ſaid to have brought out of Egypt all his myſtical theology, with the ſtories of the Stygian lake, Charon, the infernal judges, which were wrought up by the ſucceeding poets (with a mixture of the Cretan tales or traditions) into that part of the Pagan religion, ſo long obſerved by the Greeks and Romans. Now it is obvious, that this was in all parts very different from the Pythagorean opinion of tranſmigration, which, though it was preſerved long among ſome of the ſucceeding philoſophers, yet never entered into the vulgar belief of Greece or Italy.

Nor does it ſeem unlikely that the Egyptians themſelves might have drawn much of their learning from the Indians; for they are obſerved, in ſome authors, to have done it from the Æthiopians; and chronologers, I think, agree, that theſe were a colony that came anciently from the river Indus, and planted themſelves upon that part of Africa, which from the name was afterwards called Æthiopia, and in all probability brought their learhing and their cuſtoms with them. The Phœnicians are likewiſe ſaid to have been ancient-

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ly a colony that came from the Red ſea, and planted themſelves upon the Mediterranean; and from thence ſpread ſo far the fame of their learning and their navigations.

To ſtrengthen this conjecture, of much learning being derived from ſuch remote and ancient fountains as the Indies, and perhaps China, it may be aſſerted with great evidence, that though we know little of the antiquities of India beyond Alexander's time, yet thoſe of China are the oldeſt that any where pretend to any fair records; for theſe are agreed, by the miſſionary Jeſuits, to extend ſo far above four thouſand years, and with ſuch appearance of clear and undeniable teſtimonies, that thoſe religious men themſelves, rather than queſtion their truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar chronology of the Scripture, are content to have recourſe to that of the Septuagint, and thereby to ſalve the appearance in thoſe records of the Chineſes. Now though we have been deprived of the knowledge of what courſe learning may have held, and to what heights it may have ſoared, in that vaſt region, and during ſo great antiquity of time, by reaſon of the ſavage ambition of one of their kings, who, deſirous to begin the period of hiſtory from his own reign, ordered all books to be burnt, except thoſe of phyſic and agriculture; ſo that what we have remaining beſides of that wiſe and ancient nation, is but what was either by chance, or by private induſtry, reſcued out of that publick calamity (among which were a copy of the records and ſucceſſions of the crown); yet it is obſervable and agreed, that as the opinions of the learned among them are at preſent, ſo they were anciently, divided into two ſects, whereof one held the tranſmigration of ſouls, and the other the eternity of matter, comparing the world to a great maſs of metal, out of which ſome parts are continually made up into a thouſand various figures, and after

certain periods melted down again into the ſame maſs: that there were many volumes written of old in natural philoſophy among them; that, near the age of Socrates, lived their great and renowned Confutius, who began the ſame deſign of reclaiming men from the uſeleſs and endleſs ſpeculations of nature, to thoſe of morality; but with this difference, that the bent of the Grecian ſeems to be chiefly upon the happineſs of private men or families, but that of the Chineſe, upon the good temperament and felicity of ſuch kingdoms or governments as that was, and is known to have continued for ſeveral thouſands of years; and may be properly called, a government of learned men, ſince no other are admitted into charges of the ſtate.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that, in theſe remote regions, not only Pythagoras learned the firſt principles, both of his natural and moral philoſophy; but that thoſe of Democritus (who travelled into Egypt, Chaldea, and India, and whoſe doctrines were after improved by Epicurus) might have been derived from the ſame fountains; and that, long before them both, Lycurgus, who likewiſe travelled into India, brought from thence alſo the chief principles of his laws and politics, ſo much renowned in the world.

For whoever obſerves the account already given of the ancient Indian and Chineſe learning and opinions, will eaſily find among them the ſeeds of all theſe Grecian productions and inſtitutions: as the tranſmigration of ſouls, and the four cardinal virtues: the long ſilence enjoined his ſcholars, and propagation of their doctrines by tradition, rather than letters, and abſtinence from all meats that had animal life, introduced by Pythagoras: the eternity of matter, with perpetual changes of form, the indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind by Epicurus: and among thoſe of Lycurgus, the care of education from the birth of children

dren, the auſtere temperance of diet, the patient endurance of toil and pain, the neglect or contempt of life, the uſe of gold and ſilver only in their temples, the defence of commerce with ſtrangers, and ſeveral others by him eſtabliſhed among the Spartans, ſeem all to be wholly Indian, and different from any race or vein of thought or imagination that have ever appeared in Greece, either in that age, or any ſince.

It may look like a paradox to deduce learning from regions accounted commonly ſo barbarous and rude: and it is true, the generality of people were always ſo in thoſe eaſtern countries, and their lives wholly turned to agriculture, to mechanics, or to trades: but this does not hinder particular races or ſucceſſions of men (the deſign of whoſe thought and time was turned wholly to learning and knowledge) from having been what they are repreſented, and what they deſerve to be eſteemed; ſince among the Gauls, the Goths, and the Peruvians themſelves, there have been ſuch races of men under the names of Druids, Bards, Amautas, Runers, and other barbarous appellations.

Beſides, I know no circumſtances like to contribute more to the advancement of knowledge and learning among men, than exact temperance in their races, great pureneſs of air, and equality of climate, long tranquillity of empire or government: and all theſe we may juſtly allow to thoſe eaſtern regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at leaſt till the conqueſt made by the Tartars upon both India and China in the latter centuries. However, it may be as pardonable to derive ſome parts of learning from thence, as to go ſo far for the game of cheſs, which ſome curious and learned men have deduced from India into Europe by two ſeveral roads, that is, by Perſia into Greece, and by Arabia into Afric and Spain.

Thus much I thought might be allowed me to ſay, for the giving ſome idea of what thoſe ſages or learned

men were, or may have been, who were ancients to thoſe that are ancient to us. Now to obſerve what theſe have been, is more eaſy and obvious. The moſt ancient Grecians that we are at all acquainted with, after Lycurgus, who was certainly a great philoſopher as well as lawgiver, were the ſeven ſages: though the court of Crœſus is ſaid to have been much reſorted to by the ſophiſts of Greece in the happy beginnings of his reign. And ſome of theſe ſeven ſeem to have brought moſt of the ſciences out of Egypt and Phœnicia into Greece; particularly thoſe of aſtronomy, aſtrology, geometry, and arithmetic. Theſe were ſoon followed by Pythagoras (who ſeems to have introduced natural and moral philoſophy) and by ſeveral of his followers, both in Greece and Italy. But of all theſe there remains nothing in writing now among us; ſo thatHippocrates, Plato, andXenophon are the firſt philoſophers, whoſe works have eſcaped the injuries of time. But that we may not conclude, the firſt writers we have of the Grecians were the firſt learned or wiſe among them, we ſhall find upon enquiry, that the more ancient ſages of Greece appear, by the characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater men: they were generally princes or lawgivers of their countries, or at leaſt offered and invited to be ſo either of their own or of others, that deſired them to frame or reform their ſeveral inſtitutions of civil government. They were commonly excellent poets, and great phyſicians: they were ſo learned in natural philoſophy, that they foretold not only eclipſes in the heavens, but earthquakes at land, and ſtorms at ſea, great droughts, and great plagues, much plenty or much ſcarcity of certain ſorts of fruits or grain; not to mention the magical powers attributed to ſeveral of them, to allay ſtorms, to raiſe gales, to appeaſe commotions of people, to make plagues ceaſe; which qualities, whether upon any ground of truth or no, yet,

yet, if well believed, muſt have raiſed them to that ſtrange height they were at, of common eſteem and honour in their own and ſucceeding ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our moderns or our ancients may have had the greater and the better guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more application in the purſuit of knowledge. And, I think, it is enough to ſhew, that the advantages we have from thoſe we call the ancients, may not be greater than what they had from thoſe that were ſo to them.

But after all, I do not know whether the high flights of wit and knowledge, like thoſe of power and of empire in the world, may not have been made by the pure native force of ſpirit or genius in ſome ſingle men, rather than by any derived ſtrength among them, however increaſed by ſucceſſion; and whether they may not have been the atchievements of nature, rather than the improvements of art. Thus the conqueſts of Ninus and Semiramis, of Alexander and Tamerlane, which I take to have been the greateſt recorded in ſtory, were at their height in thoſe perſons that began them; and ſo far from being increaſed by their ſucceſſors, that they were not preſerved in their extent and vigour by any of them, grew weaker in every hand they paſſed through, or were divided into many that ſet up for great princes, out of ſeveral ſmall ruins of the firſt empires, till they withered away in time, or were loſt by the change of names and forms of families or governments.

Juſt the ſame fate ſeems to have attended the higheſt flights of learning and of knowledge that are upon our regiſters. Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, Hippocrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, Epicurus, were the firſt mighty conquerors of ignorance in our world, and made greater progreſſes in the ſeveral empires of ſcience, than any of their ſucceſſors have been ſince able

to reach. Theſe have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and, not able to compaſs that itſelf, they have ſet up for authors upon ſome parcels of thoſe great ſtocks, or elſe have contented themſelves only to comment upon thoſe texts, and make the beſt copies they could after thoſe originals.

I have long thought, that the different abilities of men, which we call wiſdom or prudence, for the conduct of public affairs or private life, grow directly out of that little grain of intellect or good ſenſe which they bring with them into the world; and that the defect of it in men comes from ſome want in their conception or birth.

Dixitque ſemel naſcentibus auctor,
Quicquid ſcire licet.

And though this may be improved or impaired in ſome degree, by accidents of education, of ſtudy, and of converſation and buſineſs, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of its native force, no more than life can beyond the period to which it was deſtined by the ſtrength or weakneſs of the ſeminal virtue.

If theſe ſpeculations ſhould be true, then I know not what advantages we can pretend to modern knowledge by any we receive from the ancients; nay it is poſſible, men may loſe rather than gain by them; may leſſen the force and growth of their own genius by conſtraining and forming it upon that of others; may have leſs knowledge of their own, for contenting themſelves with that of thoſe before them. So a man that only tranſlates, ſhall never be a poet, nor a painter that only copies, nor a ſwimmer that ſwims always with bladders. So people that truſt wholly to other's charity, and without induſtry of their own, will be always poor. Beſides who can tell, whether learning

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may not even weaken invention in a man that has great advantages from nature and birth; whether the weight and number of ſo many other mens thoughts and notions may not ſuppreſs his own, or hinder the motion and agitation of them, from which all invention ariſes; as heaping on wood, or too many ſticks, or too cloſe together, ſuppreſſes, and ſometimes quite extinguiſhes, a little ſpark that would otherwiſe have grown up to a noble flame. The ſtrength of mind, as well as of body, grows more from the warmth of exerciſe than of cloaths; nay, too much of this foreign heat rather makes men faint, and their conſtitutions tender or weaker than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are dwarfs, we are ſtill ſo though we ſtand upon a giant's ſhoulders; and even ſo placed, yet we ſee leſs than he, if we are naturally ſhorter ſighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazzled with the height, which often happens from weakneſs either of heart or brain.

In the growth and ſtature of ſouls, as well as bodies, the common productions are of indifferent ſizes, that occaſion no gazing, nor no wonder: but though there are or have been ſometimes dwarfs and ſometimes giants in the world, yet it does not follow, that there muſt be ſuch in every age, nor in every country; this we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, becauſe there are none now, at leaſt in the compaſs of our preſent knowledge or enquiry. As I believe there may have been giants at ſome time, and ſome place or other in the world, or ſuch a ſtature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again in ſeveral thouſands of years, or in any other parts, ſo there may be giants in wit and knowledge, of ſo over-grown a ſize, as not to be equalled again in many ſucceſſions of ages, or any compaſs of place or country. Such, I am ſure, Lucretius eſteems and de-

ſcribes Epicurus to have been, and to have riſen, like a prodigy of invention and knowledge, ſuch as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not why others of the ancients may not be allowed to have been as great in their kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different ſchemes or foundations. Becauſe there is a ſtag's head at Amboyſe of a moſt prodigious ſize, and a large table at Memorancy cut out of the thickneſs of a vine-ſtock, is it neceſſary, that there muſt be, every age, ſuch a ſtag in every great foreſt, or ſuch a vine in every large vineyard; or that the productions of nature, in any kind, muſt be ſtill alike, or ſomething near it, becauſe nature is ſtill the ſame? May there not many circumſtances concur to one production that do not to any other, in one or many ages? In the growth of a tree, there is the native ſtrength of the ſeed, both from the kind, and from the perfections of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the plant that bore it: there is the degree of ſtrength and excellence in that vein of earth where it firſt took root; there is a propriety of ſoil, ſuited to the kind of tree that grows in it; there is a great favour or diſ-favour to its growth from accidents of water and of ſhelter, from the kindneſs or unkindneſs of ſeaſons, till it be paſt the need or the danger of them. All theſe, and perhaps many others, joined with the propitiouſneſs of climate to that ſort of tree, and the length of age it ſhall ſtand and grow, may produce an oak, a fig, or a plane-tree, that ſhall deſerve to be renowned in ſtory, and ſhall not perhaps be paralleled in other countries or times.

May not the ſame have happened in the production, growth, and ſize of wit and genius in the world, or in ſome parts or ages of it, and from many more circumſtances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the ſtupendous growth of a tree or animal?

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May there not have been, in Greece or Italy of old, ſuch prodigies of invention and learning in philoſophy, mathematics, phyſic, oratory, poetry, that none has ever ſince approached them, as well as there were in painting, ſtatuary, architecture? And yet their unparalleled and inimitable excellencies in theſe are undiſputed.

Science and arts have run their circles, and had their periods in the ſeveral parts of the world; they are generaly agreed to have held their courſe from Eaſt to weſt, to have begun in Chaldea and Egypt, to have been tranſplanted from thence to Greece, from Greece to Rome; to have ſunk there, and, after many ages, to have revived from thoſe aſhes, and to have ſprung up again both in Italy and other more weſtern provinces of Europe. When Chaldea and Egypt were learned and civil, Greece and Rome were as rude and barbarous as all Egypt and Syria now are, and have been long. When Greece and Rome were at their heights in arts and ſciences, Gaul, Germany, Britain, were as ignorant and barbarous as any parts of Greece or Turkey can be now.

Theſe and greater changes are made in the ſeveral countries of the world, and courſes of time, by the revolutions of empire, the devaſtations of armies, the cruelties of conquering, and the calamities of enſlaved nations; by the violent inundations of water in ſome countries, and the cruel ravages of plagues in others. Theſe ſorts of accidents ſometimes lay them ſo waſte, that when they riſe again, it is from ſuch low beginnings, that they look like new-created regions, or growing out of the original ſtate of mankind, and without any records or remembrances beyond certain ſhort periods of time. Thus that vaſt continent of Norway is ſaid to have been ſo wholly deſolated by a plague about eight or nine hundred years ago, that it was for ſome ages following a very deſart, and ſince all over-grown with wood: and Ireland was

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ſo ſpoiled and waſted by the conqueſt of the Scutes and Danes, that there hardly remains any ſtory or tradition what that iſland was, how planted or governed, above five hundred years ago. What changes have been made by violent ſtorms and inundations of the ſea in the maritime provinces of the Low-Countries, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us of all that paſſed there before a certain and ſhort period of time.

The accounts of many other countries would perhaps as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the depths of time and gulphs of ignorance, had it not been for the aſſiſtances of thoſe two languages, to which we owe all we have of learning or ancient records in the world. For whether we have any thing of the old Chaldean, Hebrew, Arabian, that is truly genuine or more ancient than the Auguſtan age, I am much in doubt; yet it is probable the vaſt Alexandrian library muſt have chiefly conſiſted of books compoſed in thoſe languages, with the Egyptian, Syrian, and Æthiopic, or at leaſt tranſlated out of them by the care of the Egyptian kings or prieſts, as the Old Teſtament was, wherein the Septuagints employed left their names to to that famous tranſlation.

It is very true and juſt, all that is ſaid of the mighty progreſs that learning and knowledge have made in theſe weſtern parts of Europe, within theſe hundered and fifty years; but that does not conclude, it muſt be at a greater height than it had been in other countries, where it was growing much longer periods of time; it argues more how low it was then amongſt us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon the fall of the Roman empire, almoſt all learning was buried in its ruins: the northern nations, that conquered or rather overwhelmed it by their numbers, were too barbarous to preferrve the remains of learning or civility more carefully than they did thoſe of ſta-

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tuary or architecture, which fell before their brutiſh rage. The Saracens indeed from their conqueſts of Egypt, Syria, and Greece, carried home great ſpoils of learning, as well as other riches, and gave the original of all that knowledge which flouriſhed for ſome time among the Arabians, and has ſince been copied out of many authors among them, as theirs have been out of thoſe of the countries they had ſubdued; nor indeed do learning, civility, morality, ſeem any where to have made greater growth, in ſo ſhort a time, than in that empire, nor to have flouriſhed more than in the reign of their great Almanzor, under whoſe victorious enſigns Spain was conquered by the Moors; but the Goths, and all the reſt of thoſe Scythian ſwarms that from beyond the Danube and the Elb, under ſo many ſeveral names, over-run all Europe, took very hardly and very late any tincture of the learning and humanity that had flouriſhed in the ſeveral regions of it, under the protection and by the example and inſtructions of the Romans, that had ſo long poſſeſſed them: thoſe northern nations were indeed eaſier induced to embrace the religion of thoſe they had ſubdued, and by their devotion gave great authority and revenues, and thereby eaſe, to the clergy, both ſecular and regular, through all their conqueſts. Great numbers of the better ſort among the oppreſſed natives finding this vein among them, and no other way to be ſafe and quiet under ſuch rough maſters, betook themſelves to the profeſſion and aſſemblies of religious orders and fraternities, and among thoſe only were preſerved all the poor remainders of learning in theſe ſeveral countries.

But theſe good men either contented themſelves with their devotion, or with the eaſe of quiet lives, or elſe employed their thoughts and ſtudies to raiſe and maintain the eſteem and authority of that ſacred order to which they owed the ſafety and repoſe, the wealth and honour

honour they enjoyed. And in this they ſo well ſucceeded, that the conquerors were governed by thoſe they had ſubdued, the greateſt princes by the meaneſt prieſts, and the victorious Franks and Lombard kings fell at the feet of the Roman prelates.

Whilſt the clergy were buſied in theſe thoughts or ſtudies, the better ſort among the laity were wholly turned to arms and to honour, the meaner ſort to labour or to ſpoil; princes taken up with wars among themſelves, or in thoſe of the holy land, or between the popes and emperors upon diſputes of the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular powers; learning ſo little in uſe among them, that few could write or read, beſides thoſe of the long robes. During this courſe of time, which laſted many ages in the weſtern parts of Europe, the Greek tongue was wholly loſt, and the purity of the Roman to that degree, that what remained of it was only a certain jargon rather than Latin, that paſſed among the monks and friars who were at all learned; and among the ſtudents of the ſeveral univerſities, which ſerved to carry them to Rome in purſuit of preferments or cauſes depending there, and little elſe.

When the Turks took Conſtantinople about two hundred years ago, and ſoon after poſſeſſed themſelves of all Greece, the poor natives, fearing the tyranny of thoſe cruel maſters, made their eſcapes in great numbers to the neighbouring parts of Chriſtendom, ſome by the Auſtrian territories into Germany, others by the Venetian into Italy and France; ſeveral that were learned among theſe Greecians (and brought many ancient books with them in that language) began to teach it in theſe countries; firſt to gain ſubſiſtence, and afterwards favour in ſome princes or great men's courts, who began to take a pleaſure or pride in countenancing learned men. Thus began the reſtoration of learning in theſe parts, with that of the Greek tongue; and ſoon after, Reuchlyn and Eraſmus began that of the purer

purer and ancient Latin. After them, Buchanan carried it, I think, to the greateſt height of any of the moderns before or ſince. The monkiſh Latin upon his return was laughed out of doors, and remains only in the inns of Germany or Poland; and with the reſtitution of theſe two noble languages, and the books remaining of them (which many princes and prelates were curious to recover and collect) learning of all ſorts began to thrive in theſe weſtern regions; and ſince that time, and in the firſt ſucceeding century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of in ſuch a compaſs of time, conſidering into what depths of ignorance it was ſunk before.

But why from thence ſhould be concluded, that it has out-grown all that was ancient, I ſee no reaſon. If a ſtrong and vigorous man at thirty years old ſhould fall into a conſumption, and ſo draw on till fifty in the extremeſt weakneſs and infirmity; after that, ſhould begin to recover health till ſixty, ſo as to be again as ſtrong as men uſually are at that age; it might perhaps truly be ſaid in that caſe, that he had grown more in ſtrength that laſt ten years than any others of his life; but not that he was grown to more ſtrength and vigour than he had at thirty years old.

But what are the ſciences wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no new philoſophers that have made entries upon that noble ſtage for fifteen hundred years paſt, unleſs Des Cartes and Hobbs ſhould pretend to it; of whom I ſhall make no critique here, but only ſay, that, by what appears of learned men's opinions in this age, they have by no means eclipſed the luſtre of Plato, Ariſtotle, Epicurus, or others of the ancients. For grammar or rhetoric, no man ever diſputed it with them; nor for poetry, that ever I heard of, beſides the new French author I have mentioned; and againſt whoſe opinion there could, I think, never have been given

given ſtronger evidence than by his own poems, printed together with that treatiſe.

There is nothing new in aſtronomy to vie with the ancients, unleſs it be the Copernican ſyſtem; nor in phyſic, unleſs Harvey's circulation of the blood. But whether either of theſe be modern diſcoveries, or derived from old fountains, is diſputed, nay it is ſo too whether they are true or no; for though reaſon may ſeem to favour them more than the contrary opinions, yet ſenſe can very hardly allow them; and, to ſatisfy mankind, both theſe muſt concur. But if they are true, yet theſe two great diſcoveries have made no change in the concluſions of aſtronomy, nor in the practice of phyſic, and ſo have been of little uſe to the world, though perhaps of much honour to the authors.

What are become of the charms of muſic, by which men and beaſts, fiſhes, fowls, and ſerpents, were ſo frequently enchanted, and their very natures changed; by which the paſſions of men were raiſed to the greateſt height and violence, and then as ſuddenly appeaſed, ſo as they might be juſtly ſaid to be turned into lions or lambs, into wolves or into harts, by the powers and charms of this admirable art? It is agreed by the learned, that the ſcience of muſic, ſo admired of the ancients, is wholly loſt in the world, and that what we have now is made up out of certain notes that fell into the fancy or obſervation of a poor frier in chanting his matins. So as thoſe two divine excellencies of muſic and poetry are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one fiddling, and the other rhyming; and are indeed very worthy the ignorance of the frier, and the barbarouſneſs of the Goths that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of magic, by which the Indians, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians were ſo renowned, and by which effects ſo wonderful, and to common

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men ſo aſtoniſhing, were produced, as made them have recourſe to ſpirits or ſupernatural powers for ſome account of their ſtrange operations? by magic, I mean ſome excelling knowledge of nature, and the various powers and qualities in its ſeveral productions, and the application of certain agents to certain patients, which, by force of ſome peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar obſervation or comprehenſion. Theſe are by ignorant people called magic or conjuring, and ſuch like terms, and an account of them, much about as wiſe, is given by the common learned, from ſympathies, antipathies, idioſyncraſies, taliſmans, and ſome ſcraps or terms left us by the Egyptians or Grecians of the ancient magic? but the ſcience ſeems, with ſeveral others, to be wholly loſt.

What traces have we left of that admirable ſcience or ſkill in architecture, by which ſuch ſtupendous fabrics have been raiſed of old, and ſo many of the wonders of the world been produced, and which are ſo little approached by our modern atchievements of this ſort, that they hardly fall within our imagination? not to mention the walls and palace of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, the tomb of Mauſolus, or coloſſe of Rhodes, the temples and palaces of Greeece and Rome: what can be more admirable in this kind than the Roman theatres, their aqueducts, and their bridges? among which that of Trajan over the Danube ſeems to have been the laſt flight of the ancient architecture. The ſtupendous effects of this ſcience ſufficiently evince at what heights the mathematics were among the ancients; but if this be not enough, whoever would be ſatisfied, need go no further than the ſiege of Syracuſe, and that mighty defence made againſt the Roman power, more by the wonderful ſcience and arts of Archimedes, and almoſt magical force of his engines,

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than by all the ſtrength of the city, or number and bravery of the inhabitants.

The greateſt invention that I know of in latter ages has been that of the loadſtone, and conſequently the greateſt improvement has been made in the art of navigation; yet there muſt be allowed to have been ſomething ſtupendous in the numbers, and in the built of their ſhips and galleys of old; and the ſkill of pilots, from the obſervation of the ſtars in the more ſerene climates, may be judged by the navigations ſo celebrated in ſtory of the Tyrians and Carthaginians, not to mention other nations. However, it is to this we owe the diſcovery and commerce of ſo many vaſt countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the ancients, and the experimental proof of this terreſtial globe, which was before only ſpeculation, but has ſince been ſurrounded by the fortune and boldneſs of ſeveral navigators. From this great, though fortuitous invention, and the conſequences thereof, it muſt be allowed, that geography is mightily advanced in theſe latter ages. The vaſt continents of China, the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, the long extent and coaſts of Africa, with the numberleſs iſlands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our acquaintance, and our maps, and great increaſes of wealth and luxury, but none of knowledge, brought among us, further than the extent and ſituation of country, the cuſtoms and manners of ſo many original nations which we call barbarous, and I am ſure have treated them as if we hardly eſteemed them to be a part of mankind. I do not doubt, but many great and more noble uſes would have been made of ſuch conqueſts or diſcoveries, if they had fallen to the ſhare of the Greeks and Romans in thoſe ages when knowledge and fame were in as great requeſt, as endleſs gains and wealth are among us now; and how much greater diſcoveries might have been made, by ſuch ſpirits as theirs, is hard to gueſs.

I am ſure ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the face of this terreſtrial globe would probably appear, if they had been purſued as far as we might juſtly have expected from the progreſſes of navigation ſince the uſe of the compaſs, which ſeems to have been long at a ſtand: how little has been performed of what has been ſo often and ſo confidently promiſed, of a north-weſt paſſage to the eaſt of Tartary, and north of China? How little do we know of the lands on that ſide of the Magellan Streights that lie towards the ſouth pole, which may be vaſt iſlands or continent, for aught any can yet aver, though that paſſage was ſo long ſince found out? Whether Japan be iſland or continent, with ſome parts of Tartary on the north-ſide, is not certainly agreed. The lands of Yedſo upon the north-eaſt continent have been no more than coaſted, and whether they may not join to the northern continent of America, is by ſome doubted.

But the defect or negligence ſeems yet to have been greater towards the ſouth, where we know little beyond thirty-five degrees, and that only by the neceſſity of doubling the Cape of Good Hope in our Eaſt-India voyages; yet a continent has been long ſince found out within fifteen degrees to ſouth, and about the length of Java, which is marked by the name of New Holland in the maps, and to what extent none knows, either to the ſouth, the eaſt, or the weſt; yet the learned have been of opinion, that there muſt be a balance of earth on that ſide of the line in ſome proportion to what there is on the other; and that it cannot be all ſea from thirty degrees to the ſouth pole, ſince we have found land to above ſixty-five degrees towards the north. But our navigators that way have been confined to the roads of trade; and our diſcoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain degree of gain. And I have heard it ſaid among the Dutch, that their Eaſt-India company have long ſince forbidden, and

under the greateſt penalties, any further attempts of diſcovering that continent, having already more trade in thoſe parts than they can turn to account, and fearing ſome more populous nation of Europe might make great eſtabliſhments of trade in ſome of thoſe unknown regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the Indies.

Thus we are lame ſtill in geography itſelf, which we might have expected to run up to ſo much greater perfection by the uſe of the compaſs; and it ſeems to have been little advanced theſe laſt hundred years. So far have we been from improving upon thoſe advantages we have received from the knowledge of the ancients, that, ſince the late reſtoration of learning and arts among us, our firſt flights ſeem to have been the higheſt, and a ſudden damp to have fallen upon our wings, which has hindered us from riſing above certain heights. The arts of painting and ſtatuary began to revive with learning in Europe, and made a great but ſhort flight; ſo as, for theſe laſt hundred years, we have not had one maſter in either of them, who deſerved a rank with thoſe that flouriſhed in that ſhort period after they began among us.

It were too great a mortification to think, that the ſame fate has happened to us, even in our modern learning, as if the growth of that, as well as of natural bodies, had ſome ſhort periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which it muſt begin to decay. It falls in one country or one age, and riſes again in others, but never beyond a certain pitch. One man or one country at a certain time runs a great length in ſome certain kinds of knowledge, but loſes as much ground in others, that were perhaps as uſeful and as valuable. There is a certain degree of capacity in the greateſt veſſel, and, when it is full, if you pour in ſtill, it muſt run out ſome way or other, and the more it runs out on one ſide, the leſs runs

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out at the other: ſo the greateſt memory, after a certain degree, as it learns or retains more of ſome things or words, loſes and forgets as much of others. The largeſt and deepeſt reach of thought, the more it purſues ſome certain ſubjects, the more it neglects others.

Beſides, few men or none excel in all faculties of mind. A great memory may fail of invention; both may want judgment to digeſt or apply what they remember or invent. Great courage may want caution; great prudence may want vigour; yet are all neceſſary to make a great commander. But how can a man hope to excel in all qualities, when ſome are produced by the heat, others by the coldneſs of brain and temper? The abilities of man muſt fall ſhort on one ſide or other, like too ſcanty a blanket when you are a bed, if you pull it upon your ſhoulders, you leave your feet bare; if you thruſt it down upon your feet, your ſhoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unleſs it be other natures and beings than God Almighty has given us? The height of our ſtatures may be ſix or ſeven feet, and we would have it ſixteen; the length of our age may reach to a hundred years, and we would have it a thouſand. We are born to grovel upon the earth, and we would fain ſoar up to the ſkies. We cannot comprehend the growth of a kernel or ſeed, the frame of an ant or bee; we are amazed at the wiſdom of the one and induſtry of the other; and yet we will know the ſubſtance, the figure, the courſes, the influences of all thoſe glorious celeſtial bodies, and the end for which they were made: we pretend to give a clear account how thunder and lightning (that great artillery of God Almighty) is produced; and we cannot comprehend how the voice of a man is framed, that poor little noiſe we make every time we ſpeak. The motion of the ſun is plain and evident to ſome aſtronomers, and

of the earth to others; yet we none of us know which of them moves, and meet with many ſeeming impoſſibilities in both, and beyond the fathom of human reaſon or comprehenſion. Nay, we do not ſo much as know what motion is, nor how a ſtone moves from our hand, when we throw it croſs the ſtreet. Of all theſe that moſt ancient and divine writer gives the beſt account in that ſhort ſatire, " Vain man would fain " be wiſe, when he is born like a wild aſs's colt."

But, God be thanked, his pride is greater than his ignorance, and what he wants in knowledge, he ſupplies by ſufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be ſeen; when he is at the end of his line, he is at the bottom of the ocean; when he has ſhot his beſt, he is ſure, none ever did nor ever can ſhoot better or beyond it. His own reaſon is the certain meaſure of truth, his own knowledge, of what is poſſible in nature; though his mind and his thoughts change every ſeven years, as well as his ſtrength and his features; nay, though his opinions change every week or every day, yet he is ſure, or at leaſt confident, that his preſent thoughts and concluſions are juſt and true, and cannot be deceived: and, among all the miſeries to which mankind is born and ſubjected in the whole courſe of his life, he has this one felicity to comfort and ſupport him, that in all ages, in all things, every man is always in the right. A boy at fifteen is wiſer than his father at forty, the meaneſt ſubject than his prince or governors; and the modern ſcholars, becauſe they have, for a hundred years paſt, learned their leſſon pretty well, are much more knowing than the ancients their maſters.

But let it be ſo, and proved by good reaſons, is it ſo by experience too? Have the ſtudies, the writings, the productions of Greſham college, or the late academies of Paris, outſhined or eclipſed the Lycæum of Plato,

Plato, the academy of Ariſtotle, the ſtoa of Zeno, the garden of Epicurus? Has Harvey outdone Hippocrates; or Wilkins, Archimedes? Are d'Avila's and Strada's hiſtories beyond thoſe of Herodotus and Livy? Are Sleyden's commentaries beyond thoſe of Cæſar? The flights of Boileau above thoſe of Virgil? If all this muſt be allowed, I will then yield Gondibert to have excelled Homer, as is pretended; and the modern French poetry, all that of the ancients. And yet, I think, it may be as reaſonably ſaid, that the plays in Moorfields are beyond the Olympic games; a Welſh or Iriſh harp excels thoſe of Orpheus and Arion; the pyramid in London, thoſe of Memphis; and the French conqueſts in Flanders are greater than thoſe of Alexander and Cæſar, as their opera's and panegyrics would make us believe.

But the conſideration of poetry ought to be a ſubject by itſelf. For the books we have in proſe, do any of the modern we converſe with appear of ſuch a ſpirit and force, as if they would live longer than the ancient have done? If our wit and eloquence, our knowledge or inventions, would deſerve it; yet our languages would not: there is no hope of their laſting long, nor of any thing in them; they change every hundred years ſo as to be hardly known for the ſame, or any thing of the former ſtyles to be endured by the latter; ſo as they can no more laſt like the ancients, than excellent carvings in wood, like thoſe in marble or braſs.

The three modern tongues moſt eſteemed are Italian Spaniſh, and French; all imperfect dialects of the noble Roman; firſt mingled and corrupted with the harſh words and terminations of thoſe many different and barbarous nations, by whoſe invaſions and excurſions the Roman empire was long infeſted: they were afterwards made up into theſe ſeveral languages by long and popular uſe, out of thoſe ruins and cor-

ruptions of Latin, and the prevailing languages of thoſe nations to which theſe ſeveral provinces came in time to be moſt and longeſt ſubjected (as the Goths and Moors in Spain, the Goths and Lombards in Italy, the Franks in Gaul) beſides a mingle of thoſe tongues which were original to Gaul and to Spain, before the Roman conqueſts and eſtabliſhments there. Of theſe, there may be ſome remainders in Biſcay or the Aſturias; but I doubt, whether there be any of the old Gallic in France, the ſubjection there having been more univerſal, both to the Romans and Franks. But I do not find the mountainous parts on the north of Spain were ever wholly ſubdued, or formerly governed, either by the Romans, Goths, or Saracens, no more than Wales by Romans, Saxons, or Normans, after their conqueſts in our iſland, which has preſerved the ancient Biſcayan and Britiſh more entire, than any native tongue of other provinces, where the Roman and Gothic or northern conqueſts reached, and were for any time eſtabliſhed.

It is eaſy to imagine, how imperfect copies theſe modern languages, thus compoſed, muſt needs be of ſo excellent an original, being patched up out of the conceptions, as well as ſounds, of ſuch barbarous or enſlaved people; whereas the Latin was framed or cultivated by the thoughts and uſes of the nobleſt nation that appears upon any record of ſtory, and enriched only by the ſpoils of Greece, which alone could pretend to conteſt it with them. It is obvious enough what rapport there is, and muſt ever be, between the thoughts and words, the conceptions and languages of every country, and how great a difference this muſt make in the compariſon and excellence of books; and how eaſy and juſt a preference it muſt decree to thoſe of the Greek and Latin, before any of the modern languages.

It may perhaps be further affirmed, in favour of the

the ancients, that the oldeſt books we have are ſtill in their kind the beſt. The two moſt ancient that I know of in proſe, among thoſe we call profane authors, are Æſop's Fables and Phalaris's Epiſtles, both living near the ſame time, which was that of Cyrus and Pythagoras. As the firſt has been agreed by all ages ſince for the greateſt maſter in his kind, and all others of that ſort have been but imitations of his original; ſo I think the Epiſtles of Phalaris to have more race, more ſpirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have ever ſeen, either ancient or modern. I know ſeveral learned men (or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the name of critics) have not eſteemed them genuine, and Politian, with ſome others, have attributed them to Lucian: but I think he muſt have little ſkill in painting, that cannot find out this to be an original; ſuch diverſity of paſſions, upon ſuch variety of actions and paſſages of life and government, ſuch freedom of thought, ſuch boldneſs of expreſſion, ſuch bounty to his friends, ſuch ſcorn of his enemies, ſuch honour of learned men, ſuch eſteem of good, ſuch knowledge of life, ſuch contempt of death, with ſuch fierceneſs of nature and cruelty of revenge, could never be repreſented but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem Lucian to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find the ſcholar or the ſophiſt; and in all the other, the tyrant and the commander.

The next to theſe, in time, are Herodotus, Thucydides, Hippocrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Ariſtotle; of whom I ſhall ſay no more, than, what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their ſeveral kinds inimitable. So are Cæſar, Salluſt, and Cicero, in theirs, who are the ancienteſt of the Latin (I ſpeak ſtill of proſe) unleſs it be ſome little of old Cato upon ruſtic affairs.

The height and purity of the Roman ſtyle, as it be-

gan towards the time of Lucretius, which was about that of the Jugurthin war; ſo it ended about that of Tiberius; and the laſt ſtrain of it ſeems to have been Velleius Paterculus. The purity of the Greek laſted a great deal longer, and muſt be allowed till Trajan's time, when Plutarch wrote, whoſe Greek is much more eſtimable than the Latin of Tacitus his contemporary. After this laſt, I know none that deſerves the name of Latin, in compariſon of what went before them, eſpecially in the Auguſtan age; if any, it is the little treatiſe of Minutius Felix. All Latin books that we have till the end of Trajan, and all Greek till the end of Marcus Antoninus, have a true and very eſtimable value: all written ſince that time ſeem to me to have little more than what comes from the relation of events we are glad to know, or the controverſy of opinions in religion or laws, wherein the buſy world has been ſo much employed.

The great wits among the moderns have been, in my opinion, and in their ſeveral kinds, of the Italian, Boccace, Machiavel, and Padre Paolo; among the Spaniards, Cervantes (who writ Don Quixote) and Guevara; among the French, Rabelais and Montaigne; among the Engliſh, Sir Philip Sidney, Bacon, and Selden: I mention nothing of what is written upon the ſubject of divinity, wherein the Spaniſh and Engliſh pens have been moſt converſant, and moſt excelled. The modern French are Voiture, Rochefaucault's Memoirs, Buſſy's Amadis de Gaul, with ſeveral other little relations or memoirs that have run this age, which are very pleaſant and entertaining, and ſeem to have refined the French language to a degree that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there as it does in all works, that the more they are filed and poliſhed, the leſs they have of weight and of ſtrength; and as that language has much more fineneſs and ſmoothneſs at this time, ſo I take it to have had

had much more force, ſpirit, and compaſs, in Montaigne's age.

Since thoſe accidents, which contributed to the reſtoration of learning, almoſt extinguiſhed in the weſtern parts of Europe, have been obſerved; it will be juſt to mention ſome that may have hindered the advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty growth and progreſs made in the firſt age after its recovery. One great reaſon may have been, that, very ſoon after the entry of learning upon the ſcene of Chriſtendom, another was made, by many of the new-learned men, into the enquiries and conteſts about matters of religion; the manners, and maxims, and inſtitutions introduced by the clergy for ſeven or eight centuries paſt; the authority of Scripture and tradition; of popes and of councils; of the ancient fathers, and of the latter ſchoolmen and caſuiſts; of eccleſiaſtical and civil power. The humour of travelling into all theſe myſtical or entangled matters, mingling with the intereſts and paſſions of princes and of parties, and thereby heightened or inflamed, produced infinite diſputes, raiſed violent heats throughout all parts of Chriſtendom, and ſoon ended in many defections or reformations from the Roman church, and in ſeveral new inſtitutions, both eccleſiaſtical and civil in divers countries; which have been ſince rooted and eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the north-weſt parts. The endleſs diſputes and litigious quarrels upon all theſe ſubjects, favoured and encouraged by the intereſts of the ſeveral princes engaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally employed, the thoughts, the ſtudies, the applications, the endeavours of all or moſt of the fineſt wits, the deepeſt ſcholars, and the moſt learned writers that the age produced. Many excellent ſpirits, and the moſt penetrating genii, that might have made admirable progreſſes and advances in many other ſciences, were

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ſunk and overwhelmed in the abyſs of diſputes about matters of religion, without ever turning their looks or thoughts any other way. To theſe diſputes of the pen ſucceeded thoſe of the ſword; and the ambition of great princes and miniſters, mingled with the zeal, or covered with the pretences of religion, has for a hundred years paſt infeſted Chriſtendom with almoſt a perpetual courſe or ſucceſſion, either of civil or of foreign wars; the noiſe and diſorders whereof have been ever the moſt capital enemies of the Muſes, who are ſeated, by the ancient fables, upon the top of Parnaſſus, that is, in a place of ſafety and of quiet from the reach of all noiſes and diſturbances of the regions below.

Another circumſtance that may have hindered the advancement of learning, has been a want or decay of favour in great kings and princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the firſt return or recovery of this fair ſtranger among us, all were fond of ſeeing her, apt to applaud her: ſhe was lodged in palaces inſtead of cells; and the greateſt kings and princes of the age took either a pleaſure in courting her, or a vanity in admiring her, and in favouring all her train. The courts of Italy and Germany, of England, of France, of popes, and of emperors, thought themſelves honoured and adorned by the number and qualities of learned men, and by all the improvements of ſciences and arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all parts for the uſe and entertainment of kings, for the education and inſtruction of young princes, for advice and aſſiſtance to the greateſt miniſters; and in ſhort, the favour of learning was the humour and mode of the age. Francis I. Charles V. and Henry VIII. (thoſe three great rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing elſe. Many nobles purſued this vein with great application and ſucceſs; among whom, Picus de Mirandula, a ſovereign prince in Italy, might have proved

proved a prodigy of learning, if his ſtudies and life had laſted as long as thoſe of the ancients: for I think all of them, that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he died about three-and-thirty, and left the world in admiration of ſo much knowledge in ſo much youth. Since thoſe reigns I have not obſerved, in our modern ſtory, any great princes much celebrated for their favour of learning, further than to ſerve their turns, to juſtify their pretenſions and quarrels, or flatter their ſucceſſes. The honour of princes has, of late, ſtruck ſail to their intereſts; whereas of old, their intereſts, greatneſs, and conqueſts were all dedicated to their glory and fame.

How much the ſtudies and labours of learned men muſt have been damped, for want of this influence and kind aſpect of princes, may be beſt conjectured from what happened on the contrary about the Auguſtan age, when the learning of Rome was at its height, and perhaps owed it in ſome degree to the bounty and patronage of that emperor, and Mæcenas his favourite, as well as to the felicity of the empire, and tranquillity of the age.

The humour of avarice and greedineſs of wealth have been ever, and in all countries where ſilver and gold have been in price and of current uſe: but if it be true in particular men, that as riches increaſe, the deſire of them do ſo too, may it not be true of the general vein and humour of ages? May they not have turned more to this purſuit of inſatiable gains, ſince the diſcoveries and plantations of the Weſt-Indies, and thoſe vaſt treaſures that have flowed into theſe weſtern parts of Europe almoſt every year, and with ſuch mighty tides for ſo long a courſe of time? Where few are rich, few care for it; where many are ſo, many deſire it; and moſt in time begin to think it neceſſary. Where this opinion grows generally in a country, the temples of honour are ſoon pulled down, and all men's

ſacrifices

ſacrifices are made to thoſe of fortune, the ſoldier as well as merchant, the ſcholar as well the ploughman, the divine and the ſtateſman, as well as the lawyer and phyſician.

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the world, than that honour is a much ſtronger principle both of action and invention, than gain can ever be: that all the great and noble productions of wit and of courage have been inſpired and exalted by that alone: that the charming flights and labours of poets, the deep ſpeculations and ſtudies of philoſophers, the conqueſts of emperors and atchievements of heroes, have all flowed from this one ſource of honour and fame. The laſt farewell that Horace takes of his lyric poems, Epicurus of his inventions in philoſophy, Auguſtus of his empire and government, are all of the ſame ſtrain; and as their lives were entertained, ſo their age was relieved, and their deaths ſoftened by the proſpect of lying down upon the bed of fame.

Avarice is, on the other ſide, of all paſſions the moſt ſordid, the moſt clogged and covered with dirt and with droſs, ſo that it cannot raiſe its wings beyond the ſmell of the earth: it is the pay of common ſoldiers, as honour is of commanders; and yet, among thoſe themſelves, none ever went ſo far upon the hopes of prey or of ſpoils, as thoſe that have been ſpirited by honour or religion. It is no wonder then, that learning has been ſo little advanced ſince it grew to be mercenary, and the progreſs of it has been fettered by the cares of the world, and diſturbed by the deſires of being rich, or the fears of being poor; from all which, the ancient philoſophers, the Brachmans of India, the Chaldean Magi, and Egyptian prieſts were diſentangled and free.

But the laſt maim given to learning has been by the ſcorn of pedantry, which the ſhallow, the ſuperficial, and the ſufficient among ſcholars firſt drew upon

themſelves, and very juſtly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more eſteem than what they could deſerve, by broaching it in all places, at all times, upon all occaſions, and by living ſo much among themſelves, or in their cloſets and cells, as to make them unfit for all other buſineſs, and ridiculous in all other converſations. As an infection that riſes in a town, firſt falls upon children or weak conſtitutions, or thoſe that are ſubject to other diſeaſes, but, ſpreading further by degrees, ſeizes upon the moſt healthy, vigorous, and ſtrong; and when the contagion grows very general, all the neighbours avoid coming into the town, or are afraid of thoſe that are well among them, as much as of thoſe that are ſick: juſt ſo it fared in the commonwealth of learning; ſome poor weak conſtitutions were firſt infected with pedantry; the contagion ſpread, in time, upon ſome that were ſtronger; foreigners, that heard there was a plague in the country, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the commerce of the ſound, as well as of the diſeaſed. This diſlike or apprehenſion turned, like all fear, to hatred, and hatred to ſcorn. The reſt of the neighbours began firſt to rail at pedants, then to ridicule them: the learned began to fear the ſame fate, and that the pigeons ſhould be taken for daws, becauſe they were all in a flock; and becauſe the pooreſt and meaneſt of their company were proud, the beſt and the richeſt began to be aſhamed.

An ingenious Spaniard at Bruſſels would needs have it, that the hiſtory of Don Quixote had ruined the Spaniſh monarchy; for, before that time, love and valour were all romance among them; every young cavalier that entered the ſcene dedicated the ſervices of his life to his honour firſt, and then to his miſtreſs. They lived and died in this romantic vein; and the old duke of Alva, in his laſt Portugal expedition, had a young miſtreſs, to whom the glory of that atchievement

chievement was devoted, by which he hoped to value himſelf, inſtead of thoſe qualities he had loſt with his youth. After Don Quixote appeared, and with that inimitable wit and humour turned all this romantic honour and love into ridicule, the Spaniards, he ſaid, began to grow aſhamed of both, and to laugh at fighting and loving, or at leaſt otherwiſe than to purſue their fortune, or ſatisfy their luſt; and the conſequences of this, both upon their bodies and their minds, this Spaniard would needs have paſs for a great cauſe of the ruin of Spain, or of its greatneſs and power.

Whatever effect the ridicule of knight errantry might have had upon that monarchy, I believe that of pedantry has had a very ill one upon the commonwealth of learning; and I wiſh the vein of ridiculing all that is ſerious and good, all honour and virtue, as well as learning and piety, may have no worſe effects on any other ſtate: it is the itch of our age and climate, and has over-run both the court and the ſtage; enters a houſe of lords and commons, as boldly as a coffee-houſe, debates of council as well as private converſation; and I have known in my life more than one or two miniſters of ſtate, that would rather have ſaid a witty thing than done a wiſe one; and made the company laugh, rather than the kingdom rejoice. But this is enough to excuſe the imperfections of learning in our age, and to cenſure the ſufficiency of ſome of the learned: and this ſmall piece of juſtice I have done the ancients, will not, I hope, be taken, any more than it is meant, for any injury to the moderns.

I ſhall conclude with a ſaying of Alphonſus (ſurnamed the Wiſe) king of Arragon:

"That among ſo many things as are by men poſſeſſed
" or purſued in the courſe of their lives, all the reſt are
" baubles, beſides old wood to burn, old wine to drink,
" old friends to converſe with, and old books to read."

SOME

SOME

THOUGHTS

UPON REVIEWING THE

ESSAY

OF

ANCIENT and MODERN LEARNING.

I HAVE been induced, by ſeveral motives, to take a further ſurvey of the controverſy ariſen of late years concerning the excellence of ancient and modern learning. Firſt, the common intereſt of learning in general, and particularly in our univerſities; and to prevent the diſcouragment of ſcholars, in all degrees, from reading the ancient authors, who muſt be acknowledged to have been the foundation of all modern learning, whatever the ſuperſtructures may have been. Next, a juſt indignation at the inſolence of the modern advocates, in defaming thoſe heroes among the ancients, whoſe memory has been ſacred and admired for ſo many ages; as Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Democritus, &c. This, I confeſs, gave me the ſame kind of horror I ſhould have had in ſeeing ſome young barbarous Goths or Vandals breaking or defacing the admirable ſtatues of thoſe ancient heroes of Greece or Rome,

which

which had ſo long preſerved their memories honoured, and almoſt adored for ſo many generations.

My laſt motive was, to vindicate the credit of our nation, as others have done that of the French, from the imputation of this injuſtice and preſumption that the modern advocates have uſed in this caſe. For which end it will be neceſſary to relate the whole ſtate of this controverſy.

It is by themſelves confeſſed, that, till the new philoſophy had gotten ground in theſe parts of the world, which is about fifty or ſixty years date, there were but few that ever pretended to exceed or equal the ancients; thoſe that did were only ſome phyſicians, as Paracelſus and his diſciples, who introduced new notions in phyſic and new methods of practice, in oppoſition to the Galenical; and this chiefly from chemical medicines or operations. But theſe were not able to maintain their pretence long; the credit of their cures, as well as their reaſons, ſoon decaying with the novelty of them, which had given them vogue at firſt.

Des Cartes was the next that would be thought to excel the ancients by a knew ſcheme or body of philoſophy, which, I am apt to think, he had a mind to impoſe upon the world, as Noſtradamus did his prophecies, only for their own amuſement and without either of them believing any of it themſelves: for Des Cartes, among his friends, always called his philoſophy his romance; which makes it as pleaſant to hear young ſcholars poſſeſſed with all his notions, as to ſee boys taking Amadis, and the Mirror of knighthood, for true ſtories.

The next that ſet up for the excellency of the new learning above the old, were ſome of Greſham college, after the inſtitution of that ſociety by King Charles II. Theſe began early to debate and purſue this pretence, and were followed by the French academy, who took up the controverſy more at large, and deſcended to many

many particulars: Monſieur Fontenelle gave the academy the preference in poetry and oratory, as well as in philoſophy and mathematics; and monſieur Perault, in painting and architecture, as well as oratory and poetry; ſetting up the biſhop of Meaux againſt Pericles and Thucydides; the biſhop of Nimes againſt Iſocrates; F. Bourdoloue againſt Nicias; Balſac againſt Cicero; Voiture againſt Pliny; Boileau againſt Horace; and Corneille againſt all the ancient and famous dramatic poets.

About five or ſix years ago, theſe modern pretences were oppoſed in an Eſſay upon ancient and modern learning: and the Miſcellanea (whereof that eſſay was a part) being tranſlated into French, the members of that academy were ſo concerned and aſhamed, that a ſtranger ſhould lay ſuch an infamy upon ſome of their ſociety, as want of reverence for the ancients, and the preſumption of preferring the moderns before them, that they fell into great indignation againſt the few criminals among them; they began to pelt them with ſatires and epigrams in writing, and with bitter ralleries in their diſcourſes and converſations; and led them ſuch a life, that they ſoon grew weary of their new-fangled opinions; which had perhaps been taken up at firſt only to make their court, and at ſecond hand to flatter thoſe who flattered their king.

Upon the Miſcellanea's firſt printing in Paris, monſieur Boileau made this ſhort ſatire.

Quelqu'un vint l'autre jour ſe plaindre au Dieu des vers
Qu'en certain lieu de l'univers
L'on traite d'auteurs froids, de poëtes ſteriles,
Les Homères & les Virgiles:
" Cela ne ſauroit être, l'on ſe moque de vous,"
Reprit Apollon en courroux:

" Où peut-on avancer une telle infamie?
" Eſt-ce chez les Hurons, chez les Topinambous?"
C'eſt à Paris. C'eſt donc à l' Hôpital de fous;
Non, c'eſt au Louvre en pleine Academie.

Upon the ſame occaſion, and about the ſame time, monſieur Racine made this other, which more particularly touched monſieur Perrault, as the firſt did monſieur Fontenelle.

D'où vient, que Ciceron, Platon, Virgile, Homere,
Et tous ces grands auteurs que l'univers revere,
Traduits en vos écrits nous paroiſſent ſi ſots,
Perrault? C'eſt qu'en prétant à ces eſprits ſublimes,
Vos façons de parler, vos baſſeſſes, vos rymes,
Vous les fais tous paroître des Perraults.

Some of the French academy took the care to ſend theſe, and other ſuch pieces, into England and other countries, to clear their reputation from the ſlander drawn upon them by two or three of their body; and treated the reverence of the ancients as ſomething ſacred, and the want of it as barbarous and profane.

Monſieur Perrault, to eſcape the reſt of this ſtorm, ſoon changed his party, profeſſing it upon all occaſions; and to ſhew the truth of his converſion, publiſhed among other ſmall pieces the dialogue in Homer between Hector and Andromache, which he had tranſlated into French, and preſented to the academy March the 3d, 1693, after a ſpeech made them upon this ſubject, wherein are theſe lines, both the verſes and the ſpeech being ſince printed together.

" Whatever care I have taken to praiſe Homer upon
" all occaſions, and to acknowledge him for the moſt
" excellent, the vaſteſt, and the nobleſt genius that
" has ever been in poeſy, yet, becauſe I had taken the
" liberty of remarking ſome defaults in his works,
" men have riſen up againſt me, as if I had committed

" ſome

" ſome high treaſon; and that which ought to have
" been regarded but as the part of a grammarian, has
" been taken up as an audacious enterprize, which
" deſerved all the ſcorn and indignation of Parnaſſus.

" Now, that I may not be believed to have ſo ill a
" taſte, as to be inſenſible of the beauties of this ex-
" cellent poet, and to admire what is admirable in
" him, I have tranſlated one of the fineſt paſſages of
" his Iliads. I thought, if the proteſtations I have ſo
" often made to honour the author of this poem could
" not perſuade the world, yet this tranſlation might
" do it, ſince it is certain that one would not take the
" pains to tranſlate into French a piece of Greeek poeſy,
" unleſs one extremely eſteemed it."

By this it appears with what indignation and ſcorn this new opinion of our modern admirers has been uſed in France, and how penitent a recantation monſieur Perrault thought fit to make for his former errors; ſo as thoſe, who have ſince followed and defended him or his firſt opinions, ſeem to have been decoyed into the net by another duck, that flew away as ſoon as they were caught. Therefore the late objections againſt that eſſay, and in favour of the moderns, ſeem to have been writ without any intelligence of what paſſed at Paris before or about that time, having had the ill fortune to be deſerted in France, and not countenanced that I know of in England. For the learned author of the Antediluvian World, though moſt concerned in that eſſay upon this ſubject, has been ſo far from defending this new aſſertion, that he has ſince publiſhed his Achæologiæ, and therein ſhewn both his great knowledge and eſteem of the ancient learning, and proved thereby, that whoever knows it muſt eſteem it; and left ſuch modern advocates for an evidence of the contrary, that whoever deſpiſes it, in compariſon of the new, does not know it.

The modern advocates, to deſtroy the monuments of ancient learning, firſt think it neceſſary to ſhew what mean contemptible men were the founders of it, and fall foul upon Pythagoras, the ſeven ſages, Empedocles, and Democritus.

For Pythagoras, they are ſo gracious as to give him ſome quarter, and allow him to be a wiſer man than the fools among whom he lived, in an ignorant age and country: in ſhort, they are content he ſhould paſs for a lawgiver, but by no means for a philoſopher. Now the good judgment ſhewn in this wiſe cenſure of ſo great a man, will eaſily appear to all that know him. Pythagoras was indeed deſired to frame the inſtitutions of a civil ſtate in a ſmall town of Italy where he lived, but that he had the misfortune to periſh by a ſedition in the government he had formed; ſo that there remain no records or traces of any of his civil inſtitutions; whereas, on the other ſide, he has in all ages, from his own till our time, by all learned nations and perſons, even Chriſtians as well as Pagans, been eſteemed the prince of philoſophers, and to have excelled in all natural and moral knowledge as well as civil and mathematical: from him Socrates derived the principles of virtue and morality, as well as Plato both theſe, and moſt of his natural ſpeculations. Nor was the memory of any other philoſopher ſo adored by all his followers; nor any of their inſtructions ſo ſucceſsful in forming the lives of the moſt excellent men, whereof three were bred up together under a Pythagorean philoſopher at Thebes, who are not excelled by any others of their own, nor perhaps ſucceeding ages; which were Epaminondas, Pelopidas, and Philip of Macedon.

To diſcredit all the fountains from which Pythagoras is ſaid to have drawn his admirable knowledge, they cannot gueſs to what purpoſe he ſhould have gone to Delphos, nor that Apollo's prieſteſſes there ſhould have

have been famous for diſcovering ſecrets in natural or mathematical matters, or moral truths. In this they diſcover their deep knowledge of antiquity, taking the oracle of Delphos to have been managed by ſome frantic or fanatic wenches; whereas the Pythia's there were only engines managed by the prieſts of Delphos, who, like thoſe of Egypt, were a college or ſociety of wiſe and learned men in all ſorts of ſciences, though the uſe of them was in a manner wholly applied to the honour and ſervice of their oracle. And we may gueſs at the reſt by the laſt high-prieſt we know of at Delphos, I mean Plutarch, the beſt and moſt learned man of his age, if we may judge by the writings he has left. Nor could it have been without the ſage counſels, the wiſe anſwers, or ingenious and ambiguous evaſions of theſe Delphic prieſts, that the credit of that oracle ſhould have continued for ſo long a courſe of time, as from the age of the Argonauts (and how much before no man knows) to the latter end at leaſt of Trajan's reign, wherein Plutarch writ: and how great the credit was, wherein that oracle was preſerved by the wiſe conduct of their prieſts, may be gathered from the vaſt riches which were there heaped up from the offerings of all the Grecian, and ſo many diſtant nations. For before the ſeizure made of the temple of Delphos by the Phoceans, they were reported by ſome ancient authors to have been as great as thoſe which Alexander found in the palaces and treaſuries of the kings of Perſia; and it is agreed, that the Phoceans, to pay their armies in the ſacred war, made bold at once with ſuch a part of thoſe treaſures as amounted to above ten thouſand talents.

I have been ſometimes apt to think, from the prodigious thunders, and lightnings, and ſtorms, by which this temple is ſaid, in the beſt ancient authors, to have been defended from the Perſians and the Gauls, that the prieſts of Delphos had ſome admirable know-

ledge of that kind which was called magical; or that they knew the uſe and force of gun-powder ſo many ages ſince, and reſerved it, as they did the effects of all their ſciences, for the ſervice of their god: nor, if it were ſo, would it be ſtranger that ſuch an invention ſhould have been found out then by the prieſts of Delphos, than that it was ſo of late by a poor German friar,

For the ſeven ſages, who are treated like the wiſe men of Gotham, and I doubt by ſuch as are like acquainted with both, I ſhall ſay nothing in their defence, but direct the reader to the eſſay itſelf.

For Empedocles and Democritus, I confeſs, the modern advocates could not have done their cauſe or themſelves more right, than in chooſing theſe two great men of the ancients, after Thales and Pythagoras, for the objects of their ſcorn; for none among them had ever ſo great eſteem, and almoſt veneration, as theſe four. The two laſt were the heads or founders of the Ionic and Italic ſects of philoſophers, and brought not only aſtronomy and mathematics, but natural and moral philoſophy firſt among the Grecians, whom we may obſerve in Homer's time to have been as barbarous as the Thracians, governed by nothing but will and paſſion, violence, cruelty, and ſottiſh ſuperſtition.

Empedocles was the glory and the boaſt of Sicily, and of whom his countryman Diodorus, who was moſt particular in the ſtory of all that was wonderful in that iſland, ſays, that the birth of Empedocles had been glory enough to Sicily, though nothing elſe great or excellent had been produced there. He was an admirable poet, and thought even to have approached Homer, in a poem he writ of natural philoſophy, and from which Ariſtotle is believed to have drawn the body of his, ſo much followed afterwards in the world. He firſt invented the art of oratory, and the rules of it. He was an admirable phyſician, and ſtopped a plague

plague at Agrigentum by the diſpoſal of fires, which purged the air. He performed ſuch cures of deſperate diſeaſes, that for this and his foretelling many ſtrange events, his citizens would have given him divine honours. He had ſo much credit in his ſtate, that he changed the form and number of their great council, and was offered the principality of Agrigentum, but refuſed it, being as excellent in his morals as in all other ſciences.

Democritus was the founder of that ſect which made ſo much noiſe afterwards in the world under the name of Epicurus, who owed him both his atoms and his vacuum in his natural philoſophy, and his tranquillity of mind in his morals. He ſpent a vaſt patrimony in purſuit of learning, by his travels, to learn of the Magi in Chaldea, the prieſts in Egypt as far as thoſe of Moroë, and the gymnoſophiſts of India. He was admirable in phyſic, in the knowledge of natural cauſes and events. He left many writings in all ſorts of ſciences, whereof one, of the world, was ſold for an hundred talents: and it is obvious to gueſs at the value of the reſt by that of this one; for it may be preſumed with appearance enough, that what perſon ſoever has written one excellent book, will never write an ill one: as on the other ſide, whoever has writ and publiſhed one fooliſh book, will never write a good one. If we knew nothing of Democritus, but from that excellent epiſtle of Hippocrates to Demagetus, with an account of the wiſdom of Democritus, and the folly of the Abderites; the teſtimony of one ſo great man might have left ſome little reſpect for the other. But this is a juſt return upon him, after two thouſand years; Democritus laughed at the world, and our modern learned laugh at Democritus.

I think the excellency of the ancient or modern ſciences may be further concluded from the greatneſs and excellency of thoſe effects that have been produced by

thoſe cauſes; and to this end I might be allowed to deſcribe, or rather tranſcribe out of the beſt ancient authors, the accounts that are left us of the walls of Babylon, with the palace and temple of Belus, built by the Aſſyrians; the town and fortreſs of Ecbatan, by the Medes; the city and palace of Perſepolis, by the Perſians; the pyramids and obeliſks of Egypt, the temple of Vulcan there, with the lake and labyrinth of Mœris; the coloſſus of Rhodes; the ſtation for two hundred gallies at Carthage, built upon two hundred arches in the ſea, with galleries over them to hold their ſtores; the ampitheatres and aqueducts at Rome; the bridge of Trajan over the Danube; the ſeven towers at Byzantium, when it was taken and ruined by Severus; built with ſuch admirable art, that any words, ſpoken at the firſt, were conveyed from one to the other till the very laſt, though all at diſtances between them.

Theſe and many other productions of the ancients, though perhaps as little valued by the moderns as their worthies, yet, I confeſs, are beyond my comprehenſion how they could be effected without ſome other mathematical ſkill and engines than have been ſince known in the world.

I might add upon the ſubject of naval fabric, wherein we ſeem moſt juſtly to have advantage, the two prodigious ſhips or gallies built, the one by Hiero at Syracuſe, and ſent from thence into Egypt, wherein were not only contained all apartments for a prince's palace and attendants, but a garden with natural flowers, and fruits, and fiſh-ponds, and other uſual ornaments of great palaces. The other was built by Ptolemy Philopater at Alexandria; and beſides room for the king's court, attendants, and guards, contained four thouſand men at the oar.

I might further relate, from the moſt credited authors, thoſe long and ſtupendous defences that were made

made at Tyre againſt all the forces of Alexander; at Rhodes againſt Demetrius; and at Syracuſe againſt the Roman powers; by the ſole force of mathematical ſkill and engines, which raiſed ſuch vaſt weights into the air with ſuch eaſe, and directed their fall with ſuch certainty as might have almoſt given credit to that bold word of Archimedes: "Give me but where to "ſtand firm, and I will remove the earth."

But it is enough to give theſe inſtances of the wonderful effects and operations of the ancient ſciences, and thereby occaſion of enquiry, and I am ſure entertainment, to ſuch as are not acquainted with them.

In the mean time, ſince the modern advocates yield, though very unwillingly, the pre-eminence of the ancients in poetry, oratory, painting, ſtatuary, and architecture, I ſhall proceed to examine the account they give of thoſe ſciences, wherein they affirm the moderns to excel the ancients; whereof they make the chief to be, the invention of inſtruments; chemiſtry, anatomy, natural hiſtory of minerals, plants, and animals; aſtronomy, and optics; muſic; phyſic; natural philoſophy; philology; and theology; of all which I ſhall take a ſhort ſurvey.

[Here it is ſuppoſed the knowledge of the ancients and moderns in the ſciences laſt mentioned was to have been compared; but whether the author deſigned to have gone through ſuch a work himſelf, or intended theſe papers only for hints to ſome body elſe that deſired them, is not known.

After which the reſt was to follow, written in his own hand, as before.]

Though it may eaſily be conjectured, from the wonderful productions of the ancients, how great their ſciences were, eſpecially in the mathematics, which is of all other the moſt valuable to the uſe and benefit of mankind;

kind; yet we have all the teſtimonies beſides, that can be given of the height they were at among the Egyptians, from the ingenious confeſſions of the Greek authors, as well as from the voyages that were made into Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylon, and even the Indies, by thoſe who are allowed for the greateſt among the Greek lawgivers and philoſophers; whereof ſo diſtinct an account has been given in that eſſay of the Miſcellanea (already mentioned) upon ancient and modern learning. But the modern advocates can believe nothing of it, becauſe we know none of the records or hiſtories of thoſe nations remaining, but what was left us by the Greeks; and conclude the infancy of the Egyptians in other ſciences, becauſe they left no account of their own hiſtory or the reigns of their kings.

I might content myſelf with what has been already made ſo plain in this matter, by ſhewing how thoſe ancient eaſtern nations were generally without learning, except what was poſſeſſed by the prieſts, and preſerved as ſacred in their colleges and temples; ſo that, when thoſe came to be ruined, their learning was ſo too. It has been alſo demonſtrated in the ſame eſſay, how all the traces and memorials of learning and ſtory may be loſt in a nation by the conqueſt of barbarous people, great plagues, and great inundations; and for inſtance, how little is known in Ireland of what is ſo generally believed, of learning having flouriſhed there. And how little we ſhould know, even of ancient Greece or Italy, or other parts of Europe and Aſia, if the two learned languages of Greek and Latin had not been preſerved and continued in credit and in uſe among the few pretenders to any ſort of learning in thoſe parts of the world, upon the ravages and deſtructions in them by the barbarous northern nations.

But, to put this matter paſt diſpute, I ſhall ſhew more particularly when and how the ancient learning decayed

decayed in thoſe nations where it ſo much flouriſhed in the height of their empires, and fell or declined with the loſs of their liberties, or ſubjection to new conquerors.

I will not determine from what antiquity of time learning flouriſhed among the Egyptians or Aſſyrians, becauſe theſe moderns will not allow the plaineſt accounts given us by the beſt Greek and Latin authors, of the duration of thoſe empires, though not contrary to the periods allowed us by the Scriptures; but the reaſons they give for not believing them ſeem too weak and frivolous to be taken notice of; as firſt, that we have no account of the Aſſyrian kings in Scripture till Tiglath Pileſer, and others; whereas the Scripture takes no notice of the ſtory of either Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Tyrians, or Sidonian governments, but as they had, at ſome certain times, a relation to the affairs of the Jews or their commonwealth; and as it has never ſucceeded with ſo many learned men, that have ſpent their whole time and pains to agree the ſacred with the profane chronology (not to except Sir John Marſham's great induſtry) ſo I never expect to ſee it done to any purpoſe. Their next reaſon is, becauſe we have no account of the actions of ſo many Aſſyrian kings as are reckoned from Semiramis to Sardanapalus, they cannot conceive, that their lives were paſt in their palaces, and the entertainments of leiſure and pleaſure, during the uninterrupted felicity, as well as the vaſt extent of their empire, beyond the deſires of increaſing, or the fears of loſing any part of it, while the excellent orders at firſt eſtabliſhed were obſerved; and thereby, as well as by their princes ſeldom appearing out of their vaſt palaces and paradiſes (or gardens and parks about them) the adoration of thoſe kings was preſerved among their ſubjects.

Now I confeſs, a man of an eaſy and quiet temper might be allowed hardly to imagine what kings in ſuch

ſuch a poſture of fortune and power ſhould do more than to preſerve the order and quiet of their kingdoms; or how they ſhould furniſh their ages with more ſtory, than of their magnificence in their buildings and treaſures: nor do we find much more recorded of Solomon's long and happy reign among the Jews: nor are they, in the Miſcellanea, employed in gardening all that time, though the firſt accounts of gardening are there deduced from Aſſyria. But ſuppoſe thoſe idle kings, beſides the entertainments of luxury and pleaſure, ſhould have ſpent their time (or what lay upon their hands) in chemiſtry, in anatomy, in the ſtories of plants and animals; in optics and philology; in ſuch ſpeculations as the Royal Society entertain themſelves and the world with; or in converſing with their Magi, or other learned men: I hope it cannot be denied, but princes might paſs their lives in ſuch entertainments, without bloody and violent actions, that make the ſubject of common hiſtory.

And yet who knows but many ſuch there were too, in the courſe of thoſe empires, during thoſe ages; but the records of them loſt, with their other ſciences, further than ſome memory and ſhort accounts given us by the few Greek authors that we have now remaining. Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.

The ancient Aſſyrian learning, which had run ſo long a courſe of time, and grown to ſo great a height in the colleges or ſocieties of their Magi, or Chaldeans, began to decay upon the conqueſt of that empire, firſt by the Medes, and afterwards by Cyrus and his Perſians, who were then a ſort of barbarous nation that knew nothing beyond what they had learned and practiſed from the civil or military inſtitutions of Cyrus, a wiſe lawgiver, as well as great captain, and thereby the founder of that mighty kingdom. But the laſt and fatal blow given to that ancient learning was in the time of Darius father of Xerxes, who, with the reſt of

of the Perſians, ſpited at the Magi, upon the uſurpation of the crown by one of their number (that counterfeited a younger ſon of Cyrus after the death of Cambyſes) when he came to be ſettled in that throne, endeavoured to aboliſh, not only their learning and credit, but their language too, by changing the old Aſſyrian characters, and introducing thoſe of Perſia, which grew to be the common uſe of that whole empire.

Under the firſt and ſecond race of theſe Perſian kings, the genius of that nation being wholly military, their conqueſts were indeed vaſtly extended beyond the bounds of the Aſſyrian empire, by ſubduing Lydia, the Leſſer Aſia, and the whole kingdom of Egypt, which had ever been a rival of the Aſſyrian greatneſs: but during the ſucceſſions of this monarchy, all learning was ſo loſt among them, that no certain records were preſerved, either of actions or of times, under the races of the Aſſyrian kings: ſo as the firſt period of ſtory, which remains in any profane authors, ſeems to begin with Cyrus; and all before his birth is ſo obſcure, ſo variouſly reported, or ſo mingled with fable and truth, that no ſound or certain judgment can be fixed upon them, whatever pains have been employed to reconcile them. For all other ſciences, they were in a manner extinguiſhed during the courſe of this empire, excepting only a ſmatter of judicial aſtrology, by which, under the name of Chaldeans, ſome of that race long amuſed ignorant and credulous people.

But upon the ſun-ſet of this ancient Aſſyrian learning, it began to dawn in Greece, with the growth and flouriſhing of the Athenian ſtate, by whoſe navigations and traffic ſeveral noble wits among them and the reſt of the Grecians entered into commerce with the Egyptians and Phœnicians; and from them, or their prieſts, drew the firſt rudiments of thoſe ſciences which they brought into Greece, and by which they grew ſo renowned in their own and after ages. Such were So-

lon,

lon, Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, and many others; whoſe lives and voyages into thoſe eaſtern regions we are leſs acquainted with, by the loſs of ſo many books, and the injuries of devouring time.

The learning of the Egyptians, whenever it began, continued in great height and admiration of their neighbours, till the reign of Nectanebus; when, after a revolt of the Egyptians from the Perſian empire, which laſted and proſpered in two or three kings reigns, one of the Artaxerxes' ſubdued Egypt, and this laſt of the Egyptian kings reduced the whole kingdom to the Perſian obedience; but, enraged at their rebellion and obſtinate reſiſtance, executed his conqueſt with ſuch rage, that, beſides infinite ſlaughters, he razed many of their cities, and the walls of them all; ruined their temples, deſtroyed or diſperſed their prieſts, and the archives or records of thoſe famous colleges, and whatever of them he thought fit to preſerve, he carried away with him into Perſia.

This happened during the reign of Philip of Macedon, and gave a fatal period to the ancient Egyptian learning and ſciences: after which time, we know of no voyages made by the Greek philoſophers into Egypt upon that ſearch; but Plato was the laſt of renown that undertook that voyage, who lived, and was in Egypt not long before this cruel revolution.

It is true, the Grecian races of kings, afterwards in Egypt, called Ptolemies, during the quiet and felicity of many reigns, endeavoured all they could the reſtoration of learning among them, by countenance and all ſorts of encouragement to their prieſts that remained, and by the collection of that vaſt library at Alexandria: but the learning and ſcience of the old Egyptian prieſts was never recovered; and that profeſſed by the new was turned to ſuperſtition and myſtery, initiations and expiations, the procuring or foretelling events by myſtical ſacrifices, or magical operations, which laſted indeed

indeed to Adrian's time, but without credit or eſteem among the wiſer part of the world.

The ſame, or rather a greater deſolation than that of Egypt in the time of Nectanebus, was made of the Sidonians, and their whole city and territory, by the ſame Artaxerxes, in his paſſage from Perſia to Egypt, upon the rebellion of that city. The like happened to Tyre upon the cruel conqueſt by Alexander the Great of that famous city (though the ancient Tyre that ſtood upon the continent had been ruined long before); and, with the ruin of thoſe two, periſhed the Phœnician learning which had flouriſhed there for ſo many ages, and no account left us of them, beſides what remains in the very few ancient Greek or Latin books that are preſerved among us. How few they are indeed may be very juſtly bewailed, the compaſs of them extending but from the time of Hippocrates to that of Marcus Antoninus, which was about four hundred years; and yet the number of thoſe written in that period, and preſerved to our age, is more to be deplored. But I ſhall not enter into ſearch of the cauſes or times of the loſs of ſo many of the reſt, as we find mentioned by Diodorus, Origen, Athenæus, or others, whereof ſome were not long before Conſtantine. And it is recorded, that the young emperor Gordian was ſo great a lover of learning, that, in his ſhort reign, he collected a library of ſixty-two thouſand volumes; but what became of them, or when ſo many monuments of the ancient learning were loſt, I cannot undertake to find out; only it is certain, that, beſides infinite numbers of Greek hiſtories and poets, thoſe of all the ſeveral ſects of philoſophers are loſt, beſides what has been preſerved of Plato and Ariſtotle.

I cannot but take notice, how hardly the modern advocates part with their own conceſſions to the ancients, in poetry and eloquence; and upon what judicious

dicious grounds they detract from them in the firſt, and conteſt with them in the other.

They allow indeed the ſweetneſs of the Greek poetry to be inimitable, but attribute it wholly to the language, and the ſounds and ſyllables that compoſe it. They might as well ſay, the excellence of picture comes from the beauty of the colours; and of ſtatuary, from the fineneſs of the marble; whereas a common hand, with the fineſt colours in the world, can paint nothing better than a ſign-poſt; and the drawing of a hand, in black and white, may be of ten times more art and value, as well as beauty, than a common picture, though never ſo finely coloured. It is the ſame thing in poetry; the language is but the colouring; it is the conception, the invention, the judgment, that give the life and ſpirit, as well as beauty and force to a poem. And I deſire to know whether any of the Greek poets, that writ after the end of Ptolemy's race in Egypt, are at all comparable to thoſe that writ before; yet we have but too many of them left us to make the compariſon.

Upon the ſubject of eloquence, they will have it, that Padre Paolo's Council of Trent, and Comines' Memoirs, are equal to Herodotus and Livy, and ſo would Strada be too, if he were but impartial. This is very wonderful, if it be not a jeſt: for Padre Paolo, he muſt be allowed for the greateſt genius of his age, and perhaps of all the moderns, as appears in his other writings, as well as the Council of Trent; which is, indeed, no hiſtory of any great actions, but only an account of a long and artificial negotiation between the court and prelates of Rome and thoſe of other Chriſtian princes: ſo that I do not ſee, how it can properly be ſtiled an hiſtory, the ſubject whereof are great actions and revolutions; and, by all the ancient critics upon hiſtory, the firſt part of the excellence

cellence of an hiſtorian is the choice of a noble and great ſubject, that may be worth his pains.

For Philip de Comines, none ever called it a hiſtory nor he himſelf other than memoirs: nor does either the ſubject deſerve it, or the author, who is valued only for his great truth of relation, and ſimplicity of ſtyle.

There are three, which I do not conceive well, how they can be brought into the number of ſciences; which are, chemiſtry, philology, and divinity.

For that part of chemiſtry which is converſant in diſcovering and extracting the virtue of metals, or other minerals, or of any ſimples that are employed with ſucceſs for health or medicine, it is a ſtudy that may be of much uſe and benefit to mankind, and is certainly the moſt diverting amuſement to thoſe that purſue it: but for the other part, which is applied to the tranſmutation of metals, and the ſearch of the philoſopher's ſtone, which has enchanted, not to ſay turned, ſo many brains in the latter ages; "though "ſome men cannot comprehend, how there ſhould "have been ſo much ſmoke, for ſo many ages, in the "world about it, without ſome fire;" it is eaſy, I think, to conceive, that there has been a great deal of fire, without producing any thing but ſmoke. If it be a ſcience, it is certainly one of the liberal ones; for the profeſſors or followers of it have ſpent more money upon it, than thoſe of all other ſciences together, and more than they will ever recover, without the philoſopher's ſtone. Whether they are now any nearer than they were when they began, I do not know; nor could ever find it determined among wiſe and learned men, whether alchemy were any thing more than a wild viſion or imagination of ſome ſhattered heads, or elſe a practice of knaves upon fools, as well as ſometimes of fools upon themſelves. For however Borrichius, or any others, may attribute the vaſt expences of the

pyramids, and treaſures of Solomon, to the philoſopher's ſtone, I am apt to believe, none ever yet had it, except it were Midas, and his poſſeſſion ſeems a little diſcredited by his aſs's ears: and I wiſh the purſuit of many others may not fall under the ſame prejudice. For my own part, I confeſs I have always looked upon alchemy in natural philoſophy, to be like enthuſiaſm in divinity, and to have troubled the world much to the ſame purpoſe. And I ſhould as ſoon fall into the ſtudy of Roſycrucian philoſophy, and expect to meet a nymph or a ſylph, for a wife or a miſtreſs, as with the elixir for my health, or philoſopher's ſtone for my fortune.

It is not ſo difficult to comprehend how ſuch a folly ſhould laſt ſo long in the world, and yet without any ground in nature, or in reaſon; if a man conſiders how the pagan religion laſted for ſo many ages, with ſuch general opinion and devotion; which yet all now confeſs to have been nothing but an illuſion or a dream, with ſome practice of cunning prieſts upon the credulous and ignorant people: which ſeems to have been the caſe of this modern ſcience; for ancient it is none, nor any at all that I know of.

For philology, I know not well what to make of it; and leſs, how it came into the number of ſciences: if it be only criticiſm upon ancient authors and languages, he muſt be a conjurer that can make thoſe moderns, with their comments and gloſſaries, and annotations, more learned than the authors themſelves in their own languages, as well as the ſubjects they treat.

I muſt confeſs, that the critics are a race of ſcholars I am very little acquainted with, having always eſteemed them but like brokers, who, having no ſtock of their own, ſet up a trade with that of other men; buying here and ſelling there, and commonly abuſing both ſides, to make out a little paltry gain, either of money

money or of credit, for themſelves, and care not at whoſe coſt. Yet the firſt deſign of theſe kind of writers, after the reſtoration of learning in theſe weſtern parts, was to be commended, and of much uſe and entertainment to the age: it is to them we owe the editions of all the ancient authors, the beſt tranſlations of many out of Greek, the reſtoring of the old copies, maimed with time or negligence, the correcting of others miſtaken in the tranſcribing, the explaining places obſcure, in an age ſo ignorant of the ſtyle and cuſtoms of the ancients; and in ſhort, endeavouring to recover thoſe old jewels out of the duſt and rubbiſh wherein they had been ſo long loſt or ſoiled, to reſtore them to their native luſtre, and make them appear in their true light.

This made up the merit and value of the critics for the firſt hundred years, and deſerved both praiſe and thanks of the age, and the rewards of princes, as well as the applauſe of common ſcholars, which they generally received. But ſince they have turned their vein to debaſe the credit and value of the ancients, and raiſe their own above thoſe to whom they owe all the little they know; and inſtead of true wit, ſenſe, or genius, to diſplay their own proper colours of pride, envy, or detraction, in what they write: to trouble themſelves and the world with vain niceties and captious cavils about words and ſyllables, in the judgment of ſtyle; about hours and days, in the account of ancient actions or times; about antiquated names of perſons or places, with many ſuch worthy trifles; and all this, to find ſome occaſion of cenſuring and defaming ſuch writers as are, or have been, moſt eſteemed in the world, raking into ſlight wounds where they find any, or ſcratching till they make ſome where there were none before: there is, I think, no ſort of talent ſo deſpiſable, as that of ſuch common critics, who can at beſt pretend but to value themſelves by

diſcovering the defaults of other men, rather than any worth or merit of their own: a ſort of levellers, that will needs equal the beſt or richeſt of the country, not by improving their own eſtates, but reducing thoſe of their neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themſelves. The truth is, there has been ſo much written of this kind of ſtuff, that the world is ſurfeited with the ſame things over and over, or old common notions, new dreſſed, and perhaps embroidered.

For divinity, wherein they give the moderns ſuch a preference above the ancients, they might as well have made them excel in the knowledge of our common law, or of the Engliſh tongue; ſince our religion was as little known to the ancient ſages and philoſophers, as our language or our laws: and I cannot but wonder, that any divine ſhould ſo much debaſe religion or true divinity, as to introduce them thus prepoſterouſly into the number of human ſciences: whereas they came firſt to the Jews, and afterwards to the firſt Chriſtians, by immediate revelation or inſtruction from God himſelf: thus Abraham learned, that there was but one true God, and in purſuit of that belief, contrary to the opinion of the learned Chaldeans, among whom he lived, was content to forſake his own country, and come into Paleſtine: ſo Moſes was inſtructed to know God more particularly, and admitted both to ſee his glory and to learn his name, Jehovah, and to inſtitute from heaven the whole religion of the Jews: ſo the prophets under the Old Teſtament were taught to know the will of God, and thereby to inſtruct the people in it, and enabled to propheſy, and do miracles, for a teſtimony of their being truly ſent from heaven. So our bleſſed Saviour came into the world to ſhew the will of his father, to teach his precepts and commands; and ſo his Apoſtles and their diſciples were inſpired by the Holy

Holy Ghoſt for the ſame ends. And all other theology in the world, in how learned nations and ages ſoever it flouriſhed, yet ended in groſs ſuperſtition and idolatry; ſo that human learning ſeems to have very little to do with true divinity, but, on the contrary, to have turned the Gentiles into falſe notions of the Deity, and even to have miſguided the Jews and the Chriſtians into the firſt ſects and hereſies that we find among them.

We know of little learning among the Jews, beſides that of Moſes and of Solomon, till after the captivity, in which their prieſts grew acquainted with the language and learning of the Chaldeans; but this was ſoon loſt, in ſuch a broken ſtate as theirs was, after their return to ſuch a ruined city and deſolate country, and ſo often perſecuted by the credit of their enemies at the Perſian court: the learning, which afterwards we find among the Jews, came in with the Grecian empire, that introduced their learning and language, with their conqueſt, into Judea. Before this there were no diviſion or ſects among the Jews, but of ſuch as followed the true prophets or the falſe, and worſhipped God or Baal. With the Grecian language and learning entered their philoſophy, and out of this aroſe the two great ſects of Phariſees and Sadducees: the Phariſees, in all opinions which they could any way conform to their own worſhip or inſtitutions, followed the philoſophy of Plato; the Sadducees, of Epicurus. The firſt profeſſed the ſtricteſt rules of virtue and vice, the hopes and fears of rewards and puniſhments in another world; the exiſtence of angels, and ſpirits ſeparate from bodies: but the Sadducees believed little or nothing of any of theſe, further than to cover themſelves from the hatred and perſecution of the other ſect, which was the moſt popular.

For that rabbinical learning that is pretended by the Jews to have begun ſo long before the captivity, and to have continued by tradition down to the time of the Talmud; I muſt confeſs, that notwithſtanding the credit has been given to it, and all the legends introduced by it, in the laſt age, I cannot find any traces of it, which ſeem at all clear, beyond the time of the laſt diſperſion of the Jews in the reign of Adrian, or the firſt, in that of Veſpaſian; and how little the Jews have gained by all this learning of their rabbins, how ancient or modern ſoever, I leave to others to conſider and determine, who have more eſteem for it than I.

For Chriſtianity, it came into the world, and ſo continued in the firſt age, without the leaſt pretence of learning and knowledge, with the greateſt ſimplicity of thought and language, as well as life and manners, holding forth nothing but piety, charity, and humility, with the belief of the Meſſias and of his kingdom; which appears to be the main ſcope of the Goſpel, and of the preaching of the Apoſtles; and to have been almoſt concealed from the wiſe and the learned, as well as the mighty and the noble, by both which ſorts it was either derided or perſecuted.

The firſt that made any uſe of learning were the primitive fathers of the ſecond age, only to confute the idolatrous worſhip of the heathens, and their plurality of gods; endeavouring to evince the Being of one God, and immortality of the ſoul, out of ſome of their own ancient authors, both poets and philoſophers, eſpecially out of the writers of the Platonic ſect, and the verſes of Orpheus and the Sibyls, which then paſſed for genuine, though they have ſince by the moderns been queſtioned, if not exploded: thus Minutius Felix, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, made uſe of the learning of ſuch as were then acient to them, and thereby became champions of the Chriſtian

faith againſt the gentiles by force of their own weapons.

After the third century, and, upon the riſe of the Arian, and other hereſies in the Chriſtian church, their learning ſeems chiefly to have been employed in the defence of the ſeveral opinions profeſſed by the Orthodox or the Arians, the weſtern or the eaſtern churches, and ſo to have long continued, by the frequent riſe of ſo many hereſies in the church.

And I doubt this kind of learning has been but too great, and made too much uſe of, upon all the diviſions of Chriſtendom, ſince the reſtoration of learning in theſe weſtern parts of the world; yet this very polemical learning has been chiefly employed to prove their ſeveral opinions to be moſt agreeable to thoſe of the ancient fathers, and the inſtituions of the primitive times; which muſt needs give the preference to the ancients above the moderns in divinty, ſince we cannot pretend to know more of what they knew and practiſed than themſelves: and I did as little believe, that any divine in England would compare himſelf or his learning with thoſe fathers, as that any of our phyſicians would theirs with Hippocrates, or our mathematicians with Archimedes.

One would think that the modern advocates, after having confounded all the ancients, and all that eſteem them, might have been contented; but one of them, I find, will not be ſatisfied to condemn the reſt of the world without applauding himſelf; and therefore, falling into a rapture upon the contemplation of his own wonderful performance, he tell us, "Hitherto in "the main I pleaſe myſelf, that there cannot be much "ſaid againſt what I have aſſerted," &c.

I wonder a divine, upon ſuch an occaſion, ſhould not at leaſt have had as much grace as a French lawyer in Montaigne, who, after a dull tedious argument, that had wearied the court and the company, when he

went from the bar was heard muttering to himſelf, Non nobis, Domine, non nobis; but this writer, rather like the proud Spaniard, that would not have St. Lawrence's patience upon the gridiron aſcribed to the grace of God, but only to the true Spaniſh valour, will not have his own perfections and excellencies owing to any thing elſe, but the true force of his own modern learning: and thereupon he falls into this ſweet ecſtaſy of joy, wherein I ſhall leave him till he come to himſelf.

The whole cauſe, between the pretenſions of ancient and modern learning, will be the beſt decided by the compariſon of the perſons and the things that have been produced under the inſtitutions and diſcipline of the one, or the other.

I leave that of perſons to the obſervation of the preſent or laſt age, to which, it ſeems, the modern pretences are confined; and to the accounts given us by the beſt Roman and Greek hiſtorians, of what great ſpirits, both princes and generals, as well as lawgivers and philoſophers, have been formed under the doctrine and diſcipline of the ancient ſciences; and to the characters of Epaminondas, Ageſilaus, Alcibiades, Philip of Macedon, the two Scipios, Julius Cæſar, Trajan, Marcus Atoninus, and ſeveral others; and of the noble and tranſcendent virtues and heroic qualities of theſe, and ſuch other ancients moſt renowned in ſtory; their fortitude, their juſtice, their prudence, their temperance, their magnanimity, their clemency, their love to their country, and the ſacrifice they made of their lives, or, at leaſt, of their eaſe and quiet, to the ſervice thereof: their eniment virtues both civil and military, by which they gained ſuch famous victories over their enemies, ſuch paſſionate love from their own countries, and ſuch admiration of all men, both in their own and ſucceeding ages.

For things to be conſidered, they muſt be ſuch as have been either of general uſe or pleaſure to mankind.

In

In thoſe of pleaſure, as poetry, picture, ſtatuary, eloquence, architecture, the point is yielded by the moderns; and muſt of neceſſity be ſo by any man that reads the diſcriptions of thoſe ancient fabrics mentioned before, all in a breath; which were and will be the wonders of the world. Among other teſtimonies of their wit and ſcience, in their inventions of pleaſure, one might obſerve, that their very luxury was learned, in the diſpoſition, order, and variety of their feaſts; ſo contrived, as to entertain not only all the ſenſes, but the imagination and intellectuals too; by perfumes, muſic, mimic, both dumb and vocal; ſhort ſcenes and repreſentations; buffoonries, or comical diſputes to divert the company, and deceive as well as divide the time; beſides more ſerious and philoſophical diſcourſes, arguments, and recitations.

But, above all others, they were moſt wonderful in their ſhews or ſpectacula, exhibited ſo often at Rome to entertain the people in general, firſt by their ædiles and conſuls, and afterwards by their emperors: not to ſpeak of the magnificence and order of their theatres and triumphs: it is ſtrange how ſuch thoughts could ſo much as enter into any man's head, to derive, of a ſudden, ſo much water into the midſt of a town or field, as might repreſent a ſea upon dry ground, bring ſhips or gallies rowing into it, and order an abſolute ſea battle to be fought upon the land. At another time, to plant a vaſt wood of great and green trees in a plain field all incloſed and repleniſhed with all ſorts of wild beaſts, for the people to hunt, to kill, and to eat next day at their feaſts; and, the day after, all this to diſappear, as if it had only been an apparition, or raiſed by enchantment. Such ſort of atchievements among the ancients, and ſuch effects of their admirable ſcience and genius in the inventions and diſpoſition of them, ſeem as difficult for us in theſe ages to comprehend, as for them to execute.

Now

Now for things of general uſe to mankind; they are the productions of agriculture, phyſic, and legiſlature, or political orders and inſtitutions.

For the firſt; we owe them all to the ancients, who were the inventors of all arts neceſſary to life and ſuſtenance, as plowing, ſowing, planting, and conſerving the fruits of the earth to a longer ſeaſon. All ſorts of grain, wine, oil, honey, cheeſe, are the moſt ancient inventions, and not at all improved by the moderns.

For phyſic, I leave it to be compared in the books and practice of Hippocrates, Galen, and the ancient Arabians, who followed their rules and methods, with thoſe of Paracelſus and his chemical followers.

For political inſtitutions, that tend to the preſervation of mankind by civil governments, it is enough to mention thoſe of Cyrus, Theſeus, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, beſides the more ancient inſtitutions of the Aſſyrian and Egyptian governments and laws, wherein may be obſerved ſuch a reach of thought, ſuch depth of wiſdom, and ſuch force of genius, as the preſumption and flattery itſelf of our age will hardly pretend to parallel by any of our modern civil inſtitutions.

I know not why a very good reaſon, for the great advantage of ancient above modern learning, may not be juſtly drawn from the force and influence of climates where they have grown; and why the regions of Aſſyria, Phœnicia, Egypt, the Leſſer Aſia, Greece, Rome, and eſpecially China, may not be allowed to produce naturally greater force of wit and genius, of invention and penetration, than England, Holland, or the northern parts of France and Germany, to which all our modern learning ſeems to have been confined: nor do I ſee, why the mighty progreſs of ſciences in thoſe countries may not, in a great meaſure, be aſcribed unto the long peace and flouriſhing

ing condition of thoſe ancient empires, wherein the magi and prieſts were ſo much honoured of old; and alſo to the freedom of thought and enquiry in the Grecian and Italian republics, wherein the ancient philoſophers were ſo much eſteemed: nor is it ſtrange, that all learning ſhould have been extinguiſhed in thoſe noble regions, by the conqueſt of barbarous nations, and thoſe violent governments which have ſucceeded them, nor that the progreſs of it ſhould be maimed by the perpetual wars and diſtractions that have infeſted Europe ever ſince the fall of the Roman empire made way for ſo many ſeveral Gothic kingdoms or governments in this part of the world, where learning pretends to be ſo much advanced.

The greateſt modern inventions ſeem to be thoſe of the load-ſtone and gun-powder; by the firſt whereof navigation muſt be allowed to have been much improved and extended; and by the laſt, the art military, both at ſea and land, to have been wholly changed; yet it is agreed, I think, that the Chineſes have had the knowledge and uſe of gun-powder many ages before it came into Europe; and beſides, both theſe have not ſerved for any common or neceſſary uſe to mankind; one having been employed for their deſtruction, not their preſervation; and the other, only to feed their avarice, or increaſe their luxury: nor can we ſay, that they are the inventions of this age, wherein learning and knowledge are pretended to be ſo wonderfully increaſed and advanced.

What has been produced for the uſe, benefit, or pleaſure of mankind, by all the airy ſpeculations of thoſe who have paſſed for the great advancers of knowledge and learning theſe laſt fifty years (which is the date of our modern pretenders) I confeſs I am yet to ſeek, and ſhould be very glad to find. I have indeed heard of wondrous pretenſions and viſions of men, poſſeſſed with notions of the ſtrange advance-

ment

ment of learning and ſciences on foot in this age, and the progreſs they are like to make in the next: as, the univerſal medicine, which will certainly cure all that have it: the philoſopher's ſtone, which will be found out by men that care not for riches; the transfuſion of young blood into old men's veins, which will make them as gameſome as the lambs from which it is to be derived; an univerſal language, which may ſerve all men's turn, when they have forgot their own; the knowledge of one another's thoughts, without the grievous trouble of ſpeaking; the art of flying till a man happens to fall down and break his neck: double-bottomed ſhips, whereof none can ever be caſt away, beſides the firſt that was made; the admirable virtues of that noble and neceſſary juice called ſpittle, which will come to be ſold, and very cheap, in the apothecaries ſhops; diſcoveries of new worlds in the planets, and voyages between this and that in the moon to be made as frequently as between York and London: which ſuch poor mortals, as I am, think as wild as thoſe of Arioſto, but without half ſo much wit, or ſo much inſtruction; for there theſe modern ſages may know, where they may hope in time to find their loſt ſenſes, preſerved in phials, with thoſe of Orlando.

One great difference muſt be confeſſed between the ancient and modern learning: theirs led them to a ſenſe and acknowledgment of their own ignorance, the imbecility of human underſtanding, the incomprehenſion even of things about us, as well as thoſe above us; ſo as the moſt ſublime wits among the ancients ended in their Ακαταληψία; ours leads us to preſumption, and vain oſtenation of the little we have learned, and makes us think we do, or ſhall know, not only all natural, but even what we call ſupernatural things; all in the heavens, as well as upon earth; more than all mortal men have known before our age; and ſhall know in time as much as angels.

Socrates

Socrates was by the Delphic oracle pronounced the wiſeſt of all men, becauſe he profeſſed that he knew nothing: what would the oracle have ſaid of a man that pretends to know every thing? Pliny the elder, and moſt learned of all the Romans whoſe writings are left, concludes the uncertainty and weakneſs of human knowledge, with, "Conſtat igitur inter tanta in- "certa, nihil eſſe certi; præterquam hominem, nec miſe- "rius quicquam nec ſuperbius." But, ſure our modern learned, and eſpecially the divines of that ſect among whom it ſeems this diſeaſe is ſpread, and who will have the world, "to be ever improving, and that nothing is "forgotten that ever was known among mankind," muſt themſelves have forgotton that humility and charity are the virtues which run through the ſcope of the Goſpel; and one would think they never had read, or at leaſt never minded, the firſt chapter of Eccleſiaſtes, which is allowed to have been written, not only by the wiſeſt of men, but even by divine inſpiration; where Solomon tells us,

"The thing that has been, is that which ſhall be, and "there is no new thing under the ſun. Is there any "thing whereof it may be ſaid, See, this is new? It "has been already of old time which was before us: "there is no remembrance of former things, neither "ſhall there be any remembrance of things that are to "come with thoſe that ſhall come after."

Theſe, with many other paſſages in that admirable book, were enough, one would think, to humble and mortify the preſumption of our modern ſciolift, if their pride were not as great as their ignorance; or if they knew the reſt of the world any better than they know themſelves.

TO

TO THE

COUNTESS OF ESSEX

UPON HER

G R I E F,

OCCASIONED BY THE

Loſs of her only DAUGHTER.

Sheen, Jan. 29, 1674.

THE honour I received, by a letter from your ladyſhip, was too great and too ſenſible not to be acknowledged; but yet I doubted whether that occaſion could bear me out in the confidence of giving your ladyſhip any further troubles of this kind, without as good an errand as my laſt. This I have reckoned upon a good while, by another viſit my ſiſter and I had deſigned to my lord Capel. How we came to have deferred it ſo long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this diſtance, though we make ourſelves believe it could not be helped. Your ladyſhip at leaſt has had the advantage of being thereby excuſed ſome time from this trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the ſenſible wounds that have ſo often of late been given your friends here by ſuch deſperate expreſſions in ſeveral of your letters concerning your humour, your health, and your life; in all which, if they are your friends, you muſt allow them to be extremely concerned. Perhaps none can be

be at heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your ladyſhip, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occaſion, how unjuſt and unkind ſoever you are to yourſelf. But when you go about to throw away your health, or your life, ſo great a remainder of your own family, and ſo great hopes of that into which you are entered, and all by a deſperate melancholy, upon an accident paſt remedy, and to which all mortal race is perpetually ſubject; for God's ſake, madam, give me leave to tell you, that what you do is not at all agreeable, either with ſo good a Chriſtian, or ſo reaſonable and ſo great a perſon, as your ladyſhip appears to the world in all other lights.

I know no duty in religion more generally agreed on, nor more juſtly required by God Almighty, than a perfect ſubmiſſion to his will in all things; nor do I think any diſpoſition of mind can either pleaſe him more, or become us better, than that of being ſatisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away: none, I am ſure, can be of more honour to God, nor of more eaſe to ourſelves; for if we conſider him as our maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our father, we ought not to diſtruſt him; ſo that we may be confident, whatever he does is intended for good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwiſe, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor ſave any thing by reſiſting.

But if it were fit for us to reaſon with God Almighty, and your ladyſhip's loſs be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive; yet, I doubt, you would have but ill grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do; for the firſt motions or paſſions, how violent ſoever, may be pardoned, and it is only the courſe of them which makes them inexcuſable. In this world, madam, there is nothing perfectly good; and whatever is called ſo, is but either comparatively with other things of its kind,

or

or elſe with the evil that is mingled in its compoſition; ſo he is a good man that is better than men commonly are, or in whom the good qualities are more than the bad; ſo in the courſe of life, his condition is eſteemed good, which is better than that of moſt other men, or wherein the good circumſtances are more than the ill. By this meaſure, I doubt, madam, your complaints ought to be turned into acknowledgments, and your friends would have cauſe to rejoice rather that condole with you: for the goods or bleſſings of life are uſually eſteemed to be birth, health, beauty, friends, children, honour, riches. Now when your ladyſhip has fairly conſidered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what he has given you of all theſe, you may be left to judge yourſelf how you have dealt with him in your complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you and conſider other lives as well as your own, and what your lot is in compariſon with thoſe that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge; if you think how few are born with honour, how many die without name or children, how little beauty we ſee, how few friends we hear of, how many diſeaſes, and how much poverty there is in the world, you will fall down upon your knees, and inſtead of repining at one affliction, will admire ſo many bleſſings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your ladyſhip in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all theſe points, would look like a deſign to flatter you: but this I may ſay, that we will pity you as much as you pleaſe, if you will tell us who they are that you think upon all circumſtances you have reaſon to envy. Now if I had a maſter that gave me all I could aſk, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either becauſe I uſed it ill, or gave myſelf ſo much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the reſt of the world,

or

or perhaps becauſe he would ſhew his power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the reſt; would you think I had much reaſon to complain of hard uſage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

It is true you have loſt a child, and therein all that could be loſt in a child of that age; but you have kept one child, and are likely to do ſo long; you have the aſſurance of another, and the hopes of many more. You have kept a huſband, great in employment and in fortune, and (which is more) in the eſteem of good men. You have kept your beauty and your health, unleſs you have deſtroyed them yourſelf, or diſcouraged them to ſtay with you by uſing them ill. You have friends that are as kind to you as you can wiſh, or as you can give them leave to be by their fears of loſing you, and being thereby ſo much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have honour and eſteem from all that know you; or if ever it fails in any degree, it is only upon that point of your ſeeming to be fallen out with God and the whole world, and neither to care for yourſelf, or any thing elſe, after what you have loſt.

You will ſay perhaps that one thing was all to you, and your fondneſs of it made you indifferent to every thing elſe. But this, I doubt, will be ſo far from juſtifying you, that it will prove to be your fault as well as your misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the bleſſings of life, and you ſet your heart wholly upon one, and deſpiſe or undervalue all the reſt: is this his fault or yours? nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very ſcornful to the reſt of the world? is it not to ſay, becauſe you have loſt one thing God hath given, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? is it not to ſay, ſince that one thing is gone out of the world, there is nothing left in it which you think can

deſerve your kindneſs or eſteem? A friend makes me a feaſt, and ſets all before me that his care or kindneſs could provide; but I ſet my heart upon one diſh alone, and, if that happen to be thrown down, I ſcorn all the reſt; and though he ſends for another of the ſame, yet I riſe from the table in a rage, and ſay my friend is my enemy, and has done me the greateſt wrong in the world: have I reaſon, madam, or good grace in what I do? or would it become me better to eat of the reſt that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the precepts of chriſtianity agree, to teach and command us to moderate our paſſions, to temper our affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the poſſeſſion, and patient under the loſs whenever he that gave ſhall ſee fit to take away. Your extreme fondneſs was perhaps as diſpleaſing to God before, as now your extreme affliction; and your loſs may have been a puniſhment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had. It is at leaſt pious to aſcribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits, rather than to injuſtice in God; and it becomes us better to adore all the iſſues of his providence in the effects, than enquire into the cauſes: for ſubmiſſion is the only way of reaſoning between a creature and its maker; and contentment in his will is the greateſt duty we can pretend to, and the beſt remedy we can apply to all our misfortunes.

But, madam, though religion were no party in your caſe, and that, for ſo violent and injurious a grief, you had nothing to anſwer to God, but only to the world and yourſelf; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the world with us a poor, needy, uncertain life, ſhort at the longeſt, and unquiet at the beſt; all the imaginations of the witty and the wiſe have been perpetually buſied to find out the ways how to revive it with pleaſures, or relieve it with

with diverſions; how to compoſe it with eaſe, and ſettle it with ſafety. To ſome of theſe ends have been employed the inſtitutions of lawgivers, the reaſonings of philoſophers, the inventions of poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous men. All the world is perpetually at work about nothing elſe, but only that our poor mortal lives ſhould paſs the eaſier and happier for that little time we poſſeſs them, or elſe end the better when we loſe them. Upon this occaſion riches came to be coveted, honours to be eſteemed, friendſhip and love to be purſued, and virtues themſelves to be admired in the world. Now, madam, is it not to bid defiance to all mankind, to condemn their univerſal opinions and deſigns, if, inſtead of paſſing your life as well and eaſily, you reſolve to paſs it as ill and as miſerably as you can? you grow inſenſible to the conveniencies of riches, the delights of honour and praiſe, the charms of kindneſs or friendſhip, nay to the obſervance or applauſe of virtues themſelves; for who can you expect, in theſe exceſſes of paſſions, will allow you to ſhew either temperance or fortitude, to be either prudent or juſt? and for your friends, I ſuppoſe you reckon upon loſing their kindneſs, when you have ſufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of yours, ſince you have none left for yourſelf, or any thing elſe. You declare upon all occaſions, you are incapable of receiving any comfort or pleaſure in any thing that is left in this world; and I aſſure you, madam, none can ever love you, that can have no hopes ever to pleaſe you.

Among the ſeveral inquiries and endeavours after the happineſs of life, the ſenſual men agree in purſuit of every pleaſure they can ſtart, without regarding the pains of the chace, the wearineſs when it ends, or how little the quarry is worth. The buſy and ambitious fall

into the more laſting purſuits of power and riches; the ſpeculative men prefer tranquillity of mind before the different motions of paſſion and appetite, or the common ſucceſſions of deſire and ſatiety, of pleaſure and pain; but this may ſeem too dull a principle for the happineſs of life, which is ever in motion; and though paſſions are perhaps the ſtings, without which they ſay no honey is made; yet I think all ſorts of men have ever agreed, they ought to be our ſervants, and not our maſters; to give us ſome agitation for entertainment or exerciſe, but never to throw our reaſon out of its ſeat. Perhaps I would not always ſit ſtill, or would be ſometimes on horſeback; but I would never ride a horſe that galls my fleſh, or ſhakes my bones, or that runs away with me as he pleaſes, ſo as I can neither ſtop at a river or precipice. Better no paſſions at all than have them too violent; or ſuch alone as, inſtead of heightening our pleaſures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all ſuch loſſes as your ladyſhip's has been, there is ſomething that common nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed; but all exceſſive and outrageous grief or lamentation for the dead was accounted, among the ancient Chriſtians, to have ſomething of heatheniſh; and, among the civil nations of old, to have ſomething of barbarous; and therefore it has been the care of the firſt to moderate it by their precepts, and the latter to reſtrain it by their laws. The longeſt time that has been allowed to the forms of mourning, by the cuſtom of any country, and in any relation, has been but that of a year; in which ſpace the body is commonly ſuppoſed to be mouldered away to earth, and to retain no more figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the loſs of parents, of huſband, or wife. On the other ſide, to children under age, nothing has been allowed; and I ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe with particular reaſon (the common ground of all general cuſtoms) perhaps becauſe they die in innocence, and without having taſted the miſeries of life, ſo as we are ſure they are well when they leave us, and eſcape much ill which would in all appearance have befallen them if they had ſtaid longer with us: beſides, a parent may have twenty children, and ſo his mourning may run through all the beſt of his life, if his loſſes are frequent of that kind; and our kindneſs to children ſo young is taken to proceed from common opinions, or fond imaginations, not friendſhip or eſteem, and to be grounded upon entertainment rather than uſe, in the many offices of life: nor would it paſs from any perſon beſides your ladyſhip, to ſay you loſt a companion and a friend at nine years old, though you loſt one indeed, who gave the faireſt hopes that could be, of being both in time, and every thing elſe that was eſteemable and good: but yet, that itſelf, God only knows, conſidering the changes of humour and diſpoſition, which are as great as thoſe of feature and ſhape the firſt ſixteen years of our lives, conſidering the chances of time, the infection of company, the ſnares of the world, and the paſſions of youth; ſo that the moſt excellent and agreeable creature of that tender age, and that ſeemed born under the happieſt ſtars, might, by the courſe of years and accidents, come to be the moſt miſerable herſelf, and more trouble to her friends by living long, than ſhe could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, madam, I think your loſs ſo great, and ſome meaſure of your grief ſo deſerved, that, would all your paſſionate complaints, all the anguiſh of your heart, do any thing to retrieve it; could tears water the lovely plant, ſo as to make it grow again after once it is cut down; would ſighs furniſh new breath, or could it draw life and ſpirits from the waſting of

yours; I am ſure your friends would be ſo far from accuſing your paſſion, that they would encourage it as much, and ſhare it as deep as they could. But alas! the eternal laws of the creation extinguiſh all ſuch hopes, forbid all ſuch deſigns; nature gives us many children and friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again: and this makes the exceſſes of grief to have been ſo univerſally condemned as a thing unnatural, becauſe ſo much in vain; whereas nature, they ſay, does nothing in vain: as a thing ſo unreaſonable, becauſe ſo contrary to our own deſigns; for we all deſign to be well, and at eaſe, and by grief we make ourſelves ill of imaginary wounds, and raiſe ourſelves troubles moſt properly out of the duſt, whilſt our ravings and complaints are but like arrows ſhot up into the air at no mark, and ſo to no purpoſe, but only to fall back upon our heads and deſtroy ourſelves, inſtead of recovering or revenging our friends.

Perhaps, madam, you will ſay, this is your deſign, or, if not, your deſire; but I hope you are not yet ſo far gone, or ſo deſperately bent: your ladyſhip knows very well, your life is not your own, but his that lent it you to manage, and preſerve the beſt you could, and not throw it away, as if it came from ſome common hand. It belongs in a great meaſure to your country and your family; and therefore, by all human laws, as well as divine, ſelf-murder has ever been agreed upon as the greateſt crime, and is puniſhed here with the utmoſt ſhame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the dead. But is the crime much leſs to kill ourſelves by a ſlow poiſon than by a ſudden wound? Now, if we do it, and know we do it, by a long and a continual grief, can we think ourſelves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our hearts or conſume them; if we pierce them, or bruiſe them;

ſince

ſince all determines in the ſame death, as all ariſes from the ſame deſpair? But what if it goes not ſo far? it is not indeed ſo bad as might be, but that does not excuſe it from being very ill: though I do not kill my neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to ſpoil him of the conveniencies of life? The greateſt crime is for a man to kill himſelf; is it a ſmall one to wound himſelf by anguiſh of heart, by grief, or deſpair, to ruin his health, to ſhorten his age, to deprive himſelf of all the pleaſures, or eaſes, or enjoyments of life?

Next to the miſchiefs we do ourſelves, are thoſe we do our children and our friends, as thoſe who deſerve beſt of us, or at leaſt deſerve no ill. The child you carry about you, what has that done, that you ſhould endeavour to deprive it of life, almoſt as ſoon as you beſtow it? or if at the beſt you ſuffer it to live to be born, yet, by your ill uſage of yourſelf, ſhould ſo much impair the ſtrength of its body and health, and perhaps the very temper of its mind, by giving it ſuch an infuſion of melancholy as may ſerve to diſcolour the objects, and diſreliſh the accidents it may meet with in the common train of life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you ſay to another you are? Were it a ſmall injury to my lord Capell, to deprive him of a mother, from whoſe prudence and kindneſs he may juſtly expect the cares of his health and education, the forming of his body, and the cultivating of his mind; the ſeeds of honour and virtue, and thereby the true principles of a happy life? How has my lord of Eſſex deſerved that you ſhould go about to loſe him a wife he loves with ſo much paſſion, and, which is more, with ſo much reaſon; ſo great an honour and ſupport to his family, ſo great a hope to his fortune and comfort to his life? Are there ſo many left of your own great family, that you ſhould deſire in a manner wholly to reduce it, by ſuf-

fering the greateſt and almoſt laſt branch of it to wither away before its time? or is your country in this age ſo ſtored with great perſons, that you ſhould envy it thoſe we may juſtly expect from ſo noble a race?

Whilſt I had any hopes your tears would eaſe you, or that your grief would conſume itſelf by liberty and time, your ladyſhip knows very well I never once accuſed it, nor ever increaſed it, like many others, by the common formal ways of aſſuaging it; and this, I am ſure, is the firſt office of this kind I ever went about to perform, otherways than in the moſt ordinary forms. I was in hope what was ſo violent could not be ſo long; but when I obſerved it to grow ſtronger with age, and increaſe like a ſtream the further it run; when I ſaw it draw out to ſuch unhappy conſequences, and threaten no leſs than your child, your health, and your life, I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your ladyſhip, for God's ſake and for your own, for your children and your friends, for your country's and your family's, that you would no longer abandon yourſelf to ſo diſconſolate a paſſion, but that you would, at length, awaken your piety, give way to your prudence, or, at leaſt, rouſe up the invincible ſpirit of the Piercies, that never yet ſhrunk at any diſaſter; that you would ſometimes remember the great honours and fortunes of your family, not always the loſſes; cheriſh thoſe veins of good humour that are ſometimes ſo natural to you, and ſear up thoſe of ill that would make you ſo unnatural to your children and to yourſelf: but, above all, that you would enter upon the cares of your health and your life, for your friends ſake at leaſt, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing

could be to me ſo great an honour and ſatisfaction, as if your ladyſhip would own me to have contributed towards this cure; but, however, none can perhaps more juſtly pretend to your pardon for the attempt, ſince there is none, I am ſure, that has always had at heart a greater honour for your ladyſhip's family, nor can have for your perſon more devotion and eſteem, than,

MADAM,

Your Ladyſhip's moſt obedient,

and moſt humble ſervant.

HEADS.

HEADS DESIGNED FOR AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

DIFFERENT CONDITIONS

OF

LIFE AND FORTUNE.

WHETHER a good condition with fear of being ill, or an ill with hope of being well, pleaſes or diſpleaſes moſt.

The good of wiſdom, as it moſt conduces to happineſs.

The effect of happineſs beſt diſcovered by good humour and ſatisfaction within.

Difference between being ſatisfied and content.

The value of virtue double, as of coin; one of ſtamp, which conſiſts in the eſteem of it; the other intrinſic, as moſt contributing to the good of private life and public ſociety.

Againſt

Againſt Rochefoucault's Reflections upon virtue, " Qu'elle n'ira pas loin, ſi elle n'eſt ſountenuë par la " vanité."

A man's wiſdom his beſt friend; folly, his worſt enemy.

No happineſs with great pain; and ſo all are expoſed to ſmall and common accidents.

The ſting of a waſp, a fit of the ſtone, the biting of a mad dog, deſtroy for the time; the two firſt, happineſs, and the other, wiſdom itſelf.

The only way for a rich man to be healthy is, by exerciſe and abſtinence, to live as if he was poor; which are eſteemed the worſt parts of poverty.

Leiſure and ſolitude the beſt effect of riches, becauſe mother of thought; both avoided by moſt rich men, who ſeek company and buſineſs, which are ſigns of being weary of themſelves.

Buſineſs, when loved, but as other diverſions, of which this is in moſt credit. Nothing ſo prejudicial to the public.

How few buſy to good purpoſe, for themſelves or country.

Virgil's morals in
Hic quibus inviſi fratres, &c.
And,
Hic manus ob patriam, &c.

Solomon's, " Enjoy the good of life, fear God, and " keep his commandments."

Horace, in his
Non es avarus,
to,
Quin te exempta juvat ſpinis de pluribus una?

To mortify mankind in their deſigns of any tranſcendent happineſs, Solomon's Eccleſiaſtes, and Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, with Almanzor; the greateſt princes of their times, and greateſt men at all times.

The

The old man near the Hague, that ſerved my houſe from his dairy, grew ſo rich that he gave it over; bought a houſe and furniſhed it at the Hague, reſolving to live at eaſe the reſt of his life; grew ſo weary of being idle, he ſold it, and returned again to his dairy.

If without other fears, yet that of death enough to ſpoil the greateſt enjoyments.

Never to be foreſeen----"Quod quiſque vitet nuſquam homini ſatis cautum eſt in horas."

A thinking man can never live well, unleſs content to die.

It is difficult to love life, and yet be willing to part with it.

The golden ſentences at Delphos: Know thyſelf. Nothing too much. Fly contention and debt.

-----Quid te tibi reddat amicum.

El mucho ſe guaſta, yel poco, baſta.

Many friends may do one little good; one enemy, much hurt.

In no man's power to avoid enemies; they injure by chance, in a crowd ſometimes, and without deſign; then hate always whom they once injured.

To rich men, the greateſt pleaſures of ſenſe either grow dull for want of difficulty, or hurt by exceſs.

The greateſt advantages men have by riches are, to give, to build, to plant, and make pleaſant ſcenes, of which pictures and ſtatues make the pleaſanteſt part.

The greateſt prince, poſſeſſed with ſuperſtition and fears of death, more unhappy than any private man of common fortune, and well conſtituted mind.

A prince

A prince above all desires of more, or fears of change, falls to enjoy the pleasures of leisure and good scenes: for, in those of sense he can have but his share, in which nature has stinted all men.

To what we are capable of, a common fortune will reach; the rest is but ostentation and vanity, which are below a wise and thinking man.

Who for each fickle fear from virtue shrinks,
Shall in this world enjoy no worthy thing:
No mortal man the cup of surety drinks;
But let us pick our good from out much bad,
That so our little world may know its King.

Sir PHIL. SIDNEY.

* Quiry's philosophy; that, when he could not get off his boots at night, said he knew as good a way, to go to sleep with them on.

Whoever can die easily, may live easily.

The pursuit of wealth by endless care and pains is grounded but upon the desire of being so much further from want. That of power, place, and honour, but upon the prospect of being so much safer, from the respect it gives; or the having others in our power, instead of our being in theirs.

To take every thing by the right hand, rather than the left, or the best end.

Life have I worn out thrice thirty years,
Some in much joy, many in fears;
Yet never complain'd of cold or heat,
Of winter storms, or summer sweat;
But gently took all that ungently came----

SPENCER.

The last pope's way of getting the keys: Nil petere, nil recusare, de nemine conqueri.

How

* A little Moor that rode postilion.

How far the temper of mind and body may go towards relief of the worſt conditions of fortune.

How little the beſt accidents, or conditions of fortune, towards the relieving the diſtempers of body or mind.

The true end of riches (next to doing good) eaſe and pleaſure; the common effect, to increaſe care and trouble.

A man's happineſs, all in his own opinion of himſelf and other things.

A fool happier in thinking well of himſelf, than a wiſe man in others thinking well of him.

Any man unhappier in reproaching himſelf, if guilty, than in others reproaching him, if innocent.

If a reaſonable man ſatisfy himſelf, it will ſatisfy all others that are worth the care of it.

Truth will be uppermoſt, one time or other, like cork, though kept down in the water.

To take care of the firſt ill action; which engages one in a courſe of them, unleſs owned and repented. It draws on diſguiſe; that, lying, and unjuſt quarrels.

A ſhattered reputation, never again entire: honour in a man to be eſteemed like that of a woman; once gone, never recovered.

All great and good things in the world brought to paſs by care and order.

The end of all wiſdom, happineſs: in private, of one's own life; in public affairs, of the government.

The difference of both between one man and another; only whether a man governs his paſſions, or his paſſions him.

We ought to abſtain from thoſe pleaſures which, upon thought we conclude, are likely to end in more trouble or pain, than they begin in joy or pleaſure.

Youth naturally moſt inclined to the better paſſions; love, deſire, ambition, joy. Age to the worſt; avarice, grief, revenge, jealouſy, envy, ſuſpicion.

As nothing in this world is unmixed, ſo men ſhould temper theſe paſſions one with another; according to what by age or conſtitution they are moſt ſubject.

Pride and ſufficiency in opinion of one's ſelf, and ſcorn in that of others, the great bane of knowledge and life.

One man's reaſon better than another's, as it is more convincing; elſe, every man's pretence to right reaſon alike.

It is hard going round the pole to know what the greateſt number of men agree in.

The wiſeſt men eaſieſt to hear advice, leſt apt to give it.

Men have different ends, according to different tempers; are wiſe, as they chooſe ends that will ſatisfy, and the means to attain them.

Nothing ſo uncertain as general reputation; a man injures me upon humour, paſſion, or intereſt, or ſtanding in his way; hates me becauſe he has injured me; and ſpeaks ill of me, becauſe he hates me.

Beſides no humour ſo general, to find fault with others, as the way to value themſelves.

A good man ought to be content, if he have nothing to reproach himſelf.

A reſtleſſneſs in men's minds to be ſomething they are not, and have ſomething they have not, the root of all immorality.

Coolneſs of temper and blood, and conſequently of deſires, the great principle of all virtue.

This equally neceſſary in moderating good fortune, and bearing ill.

None turned more to philoſophy than Solomon and Antoninus, in the moſt proſperous fortunes.

The

The violences of Tiberius made more ſtoics at Rome than all their ſchools.

Padre Paolo at ſeventy years: when the ſpirits that furniſh hopes fail, it is time to live no longer.

The temper of great men ſhould have force of vital ſpirits, great heat, and yet equality, which are hardly found together.

A humour apt to put great weight upon ſmall matters, and conſequently to make much trouble out of little, is the greateſt ingredient to unhappineſs of life. The contrary the greateſt to happineſs.

The beſt philoſophy that which is natural to men diſpoſed to ſucceed in it by their natural tempers, though improved by education, learning, and thought.

Sharpneſs cuts ſlight things beſt; ſolid, nothing cuts through but weight and ſtrength; the ſame, in the uſe of intellectuals.

The two greateſt miſtakes among mankind are, to meaſure truth by every man's ſingle reaſon; and not only to wiſh every body like one's ſelf, but to believe them ſo too, and that they are only diſguiſed in what they differ from us. Both the effect of natural ſelf-love.

Men come to deſpiſe one another by reckoning they have all the ſame ends with him that judges, only proceed fooliſhly towards them; when indeed their ends are different.

One man will not, for any reſpect of fortune, loſe his liberty ſo much, as to be obliged to ſtep over a kennel every morning: and yet to pleaſe a miſtreſs, ſave a beloved child, ſerve his country or friend, will ſacrifice all the eaſe of his life, nay his blood and life too upon occaſion.

Another will do the ſame for riches.

One will ſuffer all injuries without reſentment in purſuit of avarice or ambition; another will ſacrifice all for revenge.

Pompey

Pompey fled among the Egyptian ſlaves to ſave his life, after the battle of Pharſalia, and loſs of empire, and liberty of Rome. Cæſar choſe to die once rather than live in fear of dying. Cato to die, rather than outlive the liberties of his country, or ſubmit to a conqueror.

Atticus preferred the quiet of life before all riches and power; and never entered into public cares.

Yet theſe all contemporaries, and the four greateſt of Rome.

Mr. H. to me. If a king was ſo great to have nothing to deſire nor fear, he would live juſt as you do.

Does any thing look more deſirable than to be able to go juſt one's own pace and way? which belongs in the greateſt degree to a private life. Ut mihi vivam quod ſupereſt ævi.

A man, in public affairs, is like one at ſea; never in his own diſpoſal, but in that of winds and tides.

To be bound for a port one deſires extremely, and ſail to it with a fair gale, is very pleaſant; but to live always at ſea, and upon all adventures, is only for thoſe who cannot live at land.

Non agimus tumidis velis, Aquilone ſecundo;
Non tamen adverſis ætatem ducimus Auſtris.

When, after much working, one's head is very well ſettled, the beſt is, not to ſet it a working again. The more and longer it has worked at firſt perhaps the finer and ſtronger; but every new working does but trouble and weaken it.

The greateſt pleaſure of life is love: the greateſt treaſure is contentment: the greateſt poſſeſſion is health: the greateſt eaſe is ſleep: and the greateſt medicine is a true friend.

Happineſs of life depends much upon natural temper, which turns one's thoughts, either upon good,

in poſſeſſion and hopes; or evil in preſent ſenſe or fears.

This makes the difference between melancholy and ſanguine, between old and young, greater than between thoſe placed in any different degree of fortune.

The uſe of plenty is the abuſe of riches; for unleſs a rich man will, in ſome things, live like a poor one, he is not the better for his riches; his life will be the worſe, and the ſhorter.

Every man will be happy; and none, by the conſtitution of nature, is capable of being ſo. We are capable of few pleaſures; and reaſon and reflection cut off many of thoſe.

If the ſun or moon eclipſes; if a comet appear; a man is in pain: if a great ſtorm of thunder or lightning, or violent ſeaſons, or tempeſts: if any thing touch his life or his fortune; any paſſion at heart; or if he fears for his ſoul; he is an unhappy man.

Pride the ground of moſt paſſions, and moſt frenzies.

The deſign of diſtinguiſhing one's ſelf in ſome kind, general to all men; and from which moſt troubles ariſe.

Man is a thinking thing, whether he will or no; all he can do is to turn his thoughts the beſt way.

Since, in ſome degree, we muſt always either hope or fear, we ſhould turn our thoughts upon ſome deſign or courſe of life that will entertain them with ſome kind of hopes. Lente in voto. If that cannot be, the next is, to ſeek diverſion from thought by buſineſs, ſports, or labour.

After all, life is but a trifle, that ſhould be played with till we loſe it; and then it is not worth regretting.

If men are ſo happy, from nature or fortune, as to have nothing elſe to complain of, they trouble themſelves with the thoughts that they muſt, or may die.

They take no pleaſure in the feaſt becauſe it muſt end.

There is but one general undiſputed truth yet agreed on, That whatever lives muſt die.

Dying is a piece of our nature, as well as living; therefore if not content with one, we cannot be perfectly ſo with the other.

Since death is unavoidable, nothing ſo impertinent as to trouble ourſelves about it: but pain is not of ſo abſolute neceſſity, therefore it is pardonable to endeavour the avoiding it.

The Stoics opinion of pain not being an evil, a mockery unnatural, and a ſtrain of the higheſt diſguiſe and affectation.

Whether conditions of life and fortune are not in all much alike; at leaſt ſo, in one great part of our lives: for ſleep levels the poor and the rich, the honoured and diſgraced, the prince and the peaſant.

Non domus aut fundi, non æris, &c.

Theſe may entertain or heighten good humour where it is; not raiſe it where it is not; otherwiſe it is like muſic in mourning.

The plant may be improved by ſeaſons and pains, but the root muſt be in the ground.

The intemperate give themſelves no leave to feel hunger, thirſt, want of ſleep, or any other ſtrong and natural deſires, without which, the pleaſures of eating, drinking, ſleeping, and the reſt, are all but weak and faint.

Reſtleſſneſs of mind is the great cauſe of intemperance, ſeeking pleaſures when nature does not aſk, nor appetite prepare them.

No poſſeſſions good, but by the good uſe we make of them; without which, wealth, power, friends, ſervants, do but help to make our lives more unhappy.

HEADS

Designed for an

ESSAY

ON

CONVERSATION.

MEN naturally or generally ſeek it with others, and avoid it with themſelves.

Both are neceſſary, one gives the ſtock, the other improves it: one, without the other, unrefined.

Ability is drawn out into uſe by occaſions and accidents.

> Paulum ſepultæ diſtat inertiæ
> Celata virtus.

Sometimes, in one age, great men are without great occaſions; in another, great occaſions without great men; and in both, one loſt for want of the other.

No

No man willingly lives without ſome converſation: delicacy and diſtinction make men called ſolitary; thoſe that do upon vows or choice, in danger of ſome degrees of frenzy, the mind, like the ſtomach, when empty preying upon itſelf.

Scipio, of all active and great men, the moſt contemplative, yet open to Lælius and other private friends.

Women and children, ſome ſort of fools and madmen, the greateſt talkers.

Men talk without thinking, and think without talking.

Order, the effect of thought, and cauſe of all good productions.

Silence in company (if not dulneſs or modeſty) is obſervation or diſcretion.

To play or wreſtle well ſhould be uſed with thoſe that do it better than you.

A man among children, long a child: a child among men, ſoon a man.

Nothing keeps a man from being rich, like thinking he has enough; nothing from knowledge and wiſdom, like thinking he has both.

Nothing ſo unreaſonable or inſufferable in common converſation, as ſufficiency.

Meaſuring all reaſon by our own, the commoneſt and greateſt weakneſs; is an encroachment upon the common right of mankind.

Neither general rules, nor general practice, to be found further than notion.

Taſte in converſation, from love or friendſhip, eſteem or intereſt, pleaſantneſs or amuſement: the two firſt engage the firſt part of our lives; the two ſecond, the middle; and the laſt the latter end.

Something like home that is not home, like alone that is not alone, to be wiſhed, and only found in a friend, or in his houſe.

Men, that do not think of the preſent, will be thinking of the paſt or future; therefore buſineſs or converſation is neceſſary to fix their thoughts on the preſent.

In the reſt, ſeldom ſatisfaction, often diſcontent and trouble, unleſs to very ſanguine humours.

The ſame in general ſpeculations: witneſs Solomon and Antoninus; for whoſe thoughts are not loſt in the immenſity of matter, the infinity of forms, the variety of productions, and continual viciſſitude or change of one to the other.

In converſation, humour is more than wit, eaſineſs more than knowledge: few deſire to learn, or think they need it; all deſire to be pleaſed, or, if not, to be eaſy.

A fool may ſay many wiſe things, a wiſe man no fooliſh ones: good ſenſe runs throughout.

Mr. Grantam's fool's reply to a great man that aſked whoſe fool he was? 'I am Mr. Grantam's fool: 'pray whoſe fool are you?'

Sudden replies eſteemed the beſt and pleaſanteſt veins of wit. not always ſo, of good ſenſe.

Of all paſſions, none ſo ſoon and ſo often turns the brain as pride.

A little vein of folly or whim, pleaſant in converſation; becauſe it gives a liberty of ſaying things, that diſcreet men, though they will not ſay, are willing to hear.

The firſt ingredient in converſation is truth, the next good ſenſe, the third good humour, and the fourth wit.

This laſt was formerly left to fools and buffoons kept in all great families.

Henry IV. of France, and king James I. of England, firſt gave repute to that ſort of wit; increaſed by king Charles II.

In

In king Charles the Firſt's time, all wit, love, and honour, heightened by the wits of that time into romance.

Lord Goreign took the contrepied, and turned all into ridicule.

He was followed by the duke of Buckingham, and that vein favoured by king Charles II. brought it in vogue.

Truth is allowed the moſt eſteemable quality: the lie is the greateſt reproach; therefore allowed formerly a juſt occaſion of combat by law, and ſince that time, by honour, in private duels.

Good breeding as neceſſary a quality in converſation to accompliſh all the reſt, as grace in motion and dancing.

It is harder, in that, to dance a corrant well than a jig; ſo in converſation, even, eaſy, and agreeable, more than points of wit, which unleſs very naturally they fall in of themſelves, and not too often, are diſliked in good company; becauſe they pretend to more than the reſt, and turn converſation from good ſenſe to wit, from pleaſant to ridicule, which are the meaner parts.

To make others wit appear more than one's own, a good rule in converſation: neceſſary one, to let others take notice of your wit, and never do it yourſelf.

Flattery, like poiſon, requires of all others the fineſt infuſion.

Of all things the moſt nauſeous, the moſt ſhocking and hardeſt to bear.

King James I. uſed to ſay, Nay, by my ſoul, that is too hard.

Pride and roughneſs may turn one's humour, but flattery turns one's ſtomach.

Both extremes to be avoided: if we muſt lean one way, better to bluntneſs and coldneſs, which is moſt natural, than to flattery, which is artificial.

This is learned in the ſlavery of courts, or ill fortune; the other in the freedom of the country and a fortune one is content with.

Nothing ſo nauſeous as undiſtinguiſhed civility; it is like a whore, or an hoſteſs, who looks kindly upon every body that comes in.

It is fit only for ſuch perſons of quality as have no other way to draw company, and draws only ſuch as are not welcome any where elſe.

Court converſation, without love or buſineſs, of all the other, the moſt taſteleſs.

A court, properly a fair, the end of it trade and gain: for none would come to be juſtled in a crowd, that is eaſy at home, nor go to ſervice, that thinks he has enough to live well of himſelf.

Thoſe that come to either, for entertainment, are the dupes of the traders, or, at leaſt, the raillery.

All the ſkill of a court is to follow the prince's preſent humour, talk the preſent language, ſerve the preſent turn, and make uſe of the preſent intereſt of one's friends.

Bluntneſs and plainneſs in a court, the moſt refined breeding.

Like ſomething in a dreſs that looks neglected, and yet is very exact.

When I conſider how many noble and eſteemable men, how many lovely and agreeable women I have outlived among my acquaintance and friends, methinks it looks impertinent to be ſtill alive.

Changes in veins of wit, like thoſe of habits, or other modes.

Upon K. Charles the Second's return, none more out of faſhion among the new courtiers, than the old Earl of

of Norwich, that was eſteemed the greateſt wit in his father's time, among the old.

Our thoughts are expreſſed by ſpeech, our paſſions and motions as well without it.

Telling our griefs leſſens them, and doubles our joys.

To hate company unnatural, or to be always ſilent in it.

Sociable, a quality aſcribed to mankind.

Yet hatred, or diſtaſte, brought Timon to live alone, and the ſhipwrecked men in an iſland of the Indies.

It is very different to live in little company, or in none.

Proper for age to retire, as for youth to produce itſelf in the world.

One ſhews merit, or the hopes that they may one day have it; the other has none, they never can.

Proper for one to ſhew excellencies in any kind; for the other to hide their defaults.

It is not to live, to be hid all one's life; but, if one has been abroad all day, one may be allowed to go home upon any great change of weather or company.

Nothing ſo uſeful as well choſen converſation, or ſo pernicious as ill.

There may be too much as well as too little.

Solitude damps thought and wit; too much company diſſipates and hinders it from fixing.

In retreat a man feels more how life paſſes; if he likes it, is the happier; if he diſlikes it, the more miſerable, and ought to change for company, buſineſs, or entertainments, which keep a man from his own thoughts and reflections.

Study gives ſtrength to the mind; converſation, grace: the firſt apt to give ſtiffneſs, the other ſuppleneſs: one gives ſubſtance and form to the ſtatue, the other poliſhes it.

They

The great happineſs is to have a friend to obſerve and tell one of one's faults, whom one has reaſon to eſteem, and is apt to believe.

The great miſcarriages of life come from the want of a good pilot, or from a ſufficiency to follow one's own courſe or humour.

Sometimes out of pride to contradict others, or ſhew one needs no inſtruction.

Do nothing to loſe common reputation, which is the beſt poſſeſſion of life, eſpecially that of honour and truth.

Roughneſs or authority in giving counſel, eaſineſs to receive all, or obſtinacy to receive none, equally to be avoided.

Too much delicacy in one, or the other, of ill effect.

Mark what makes other men eſteemed, and imitate; what diſeſteemed, and avoid it.

Many very learned and able, without being agreeable; more the contrary.

Company to be avoided, that are good for nothing; to be ſought and frequented, that excel in ſome quality or other.

Of all excellencies that make converſation, good ſenſe and good nature the moſt neceſſary, humour the pleaſanteſt.

To ſubmit blindly to none, to preſerve the liberty of one's own reaſon, to diſpute for inſtruction, not victory, and yield to reaſon as ſoon as it appears to us, from whence ſoever it comes.

This is to be found in all conditions and degrees of men, in a farmer or miller ſometimes, as well as a lawyer or divine, among the learned and the great; though their reputation or manner often impoſes on us.

The beſt rules to form a young man, to talk little, to hear much, to reflect alone upon what has paſſed in company, to diſtruſt one's own opinions, and value others that deſerve it.

The

The chief ingredients into the compoſition of thoſe qualities that gain eſteem and praiſe, are good nature, truth, good ſenſe, and good breeding.

Good nature is ſeen in a diſpoſition to ſay and do what one thinks will pleaſe or profit others.

Good breeding in doing nothing one thinks will either hurt or diſpleaſe them.

Good nature and good ſenſe come from our births or tempers: good breeding and truth, chiefly by education and converſe with men. Yet truth ſeems much in one's blood, and is gained too by good ſenſe and reflection; that nothing is a greater poſſeſſion, nor of more advantage to thoſe that have it, as well as thoſe that deal with it.

Offenſive and undiſtinguiſhed raillery comes from ill nature, and deſire of harm to others, though without good to one's ſelf; or vanity and a deſire of valuing ourſelves, by ſhewing others faults and follies, and the compariſon with ourſelves, as free from them.

This vein in the world was originally railing; but, becauſe that would not paſs without return of blows, men of more wit than courage brought in this refinement, more dangerous to others, and leſs to themſelves.

Charles Brandon's motto at a tournament, upon his marriage with the Queen; the trappings of his horſe being half cloth of gold, and the other half frize.

Cloth of gold, do not deſpiſe,
Tho' thou art match'd with cloth of frize.
Cloth of frize, be not too bold,
Tho' thou art match'd with cloth of gold.

VIRGIL's

LAST

ECLOGUE.

ONE labour more, O Arethuſa, yield,
Before I leave the ſhepherds and the field;
Some verſes to my Gallus ere we part,
Such as may one day break Lycoris' heart,
As ſhe did his. Who can refuſe a ſong,
To one that lov'd ſo well, and dy'd ſo young!
So may'ſt thou thy belov'd Alpheüs pleaſe,
When thou creep'ſt under the Sicanian ſeas,
Begin, and ſing Gallus' unhappy fires,
Whilſt yonder goat to yonder branch aſpires
Out of his reach. We ſing not to the deaf;
An anſwer comes from every trembling leaf.
What woods, what foreſts had intic'd your ſtay,
Ye Naïades, why came ye not away
When Gallûs dy'd by an unworthy flame?
Parnaſſus knew, and lov'd too well, his name,
To ſtop your courſe; nor could your haſty flight
Be ſtaid by Pindus, which was his delight.
Him the freſh lawrels, him the lowly heath,
Bewail'd with dewy tears; his parting breath
Made lofty Mænalus hang his piny head;
Lycæan marbles wept, when he was dead.
Under a lonely tree he lay and pin'd,
His flock about him feeding on the wind,
As he on love; ſuch kind and gentle ſheep
The fair Adonis would be proud to keep.
There came the ſhepherds, there the weary hinds,
Thither Menalcas, parch'd with froſt and winds;

All

All aſk'd him whence, for whom, this fatal love:
Apollo came, his arts and herbs to prove.
Why, Gallus? why ſo fond? he ſays; thy flame,
Thy care, Lycoris, is another's game;
For him ſhe ſighs and raves, him ſhe purſues,
Through mid day's heats, and through the morning dews;
Over the ſnowy cliffs, and frozen ſtreams,
Through noiſy camps. Up, Gallus, leave thy dreams:
She has left thee. Still lay the drooping ſwain,
Hanging his mourning head: Phœbus in vain
Offers his herbs, employs his counſel here;
'Tis all refus'd, or anſwer'd with a tear,
What ſhakes the branches! what makes all the trees
Begin to bow their heads, the goats their knees!
Oh! 'tis Sylvanus, with his moſſy beard
And leafy crown, attended by a herd
Of wood-born ſatyrs; ſee! he ſhakes his ſpear,
A green young oak, the talleſt of the year.
Pan, the Arcadian god, forſook the plains,
Mov'd with the ſtory of his Gallus' pains.
We ſaw him come, with oaten-pipe in hand,
Painted with berries-juice; we ſaw him ſtand
And gaze upon his ſhepherd's bathing eyes;
And, What no end, no end of grief! he cries.
Love little minds all thy conſuming care,
Or reſtleſs thoughts; they are his daily fare,
Nor cruel love with tears, nor graſs with ſhow'rs,
Nor goats with tender ſprouts, nor bees with flow'rs,
Are ever ſatisfy'd. So ſaid the god,
And touch'd the ſhepherd with his hazel rod:
He, ſorrow-ſlain, ſeem'd to revive, and ſaid,
But yet, Arcadians, is my grief allay'd,
To think, that in theſe woods, and hills, and plains,
When I am ſilent in the grave, your ſwains
Shall ſing my loves, Arcadian ſwains inſpir'd
By Phœbus; O! how gently ſhall theſe tir'd
And fainting limbs repoſe in endleſs ſleep,
Whilſt your ſweet notes my love immortal keep!
Would it had pleas'd the gods, I had been born
Juſt one of you, and taught to wind a horn,
Or wield a hook, or prune a branching vine,
And known no other love, but, Phillis, thine;

Or thine, Amintas; what though both are brown?
So are the nuts and berries on the down.
Amongſt the vines, the willows, and the ſprings,
Phillis makes garlands, and Amintas ſings.
No cruel abſence calls my love away,
Farther than bleating ſheep can go aſtray.
Here, my Lycoris, here are ſhady groves,
Here fountains cool, and meadows ſoft; our loves
And lives may here, together, wear and end:
O the true joys of ſuch a fate and friend!
I now am hurried, by ſevere commands,
To eaſtern regions, and among the bands
Of armed troops; there, by my foes purſu'd,
Here, by my friends; but ſtill by love ſubdu'd,
Thou far from home, and me, art wand'ring o'er
The Alpine ſnows; the fartheſt weſtern ſhore,
The frozen Rhine. When are we like to meet;
Ah gently, gently, leſt thy tender feet
Be cut with ice. Cover thy lovely arms;
The northern cold relents not at their charms:
Away I'll go, into ſome ſhady bow'rs,
And ſing the ſongs I made in happy hours;
And charm my woes. How can I better chooſe,
Than among wildeſt woods myſelf to loſe,
And carve our loves upon the tender trees?
There they will thrive: ſee, how my love agrees
With the young plants: look how they grow together,
In ſpite of abſence, and in ſpite of weather.
Mean time, I'll climb that rock, and ramble o'er
Yon woody hill; I'll chaſe the grizly boar.
I'll find Diana's, and her nymphs reſort;
No froſts, no ſtorms, ſhall ſlack my eager ſport.
Methinks I'm wand'ring all about the rocks,
And hollow ſounding woods: look how my locks
Are torn with boughs and thorns! my ſhafts are gone,
My legs are tir'd, and all my ſport is done.
Alas! this is no cure for my diſeaſe;
Nor can our toils that cruel god appeaſe,
Now neither nymphs, nor ſongs, can pleaſe me more,
Nor hollow woods, nor yet the chaſed boar:
No ſport, no labour can divert my grief:
Without Lycoris there is no relief.

Though I ſhould drink up Heber's icy ſtreams,
Or Scythian ſnows, yet ſtill her fiery beams
Would ſcorch me up. Whatever we can prove,
Love conquers all, and we muſt yield to love.

HORACE, Lib. iv. Ode 7.

THE ſnows are melted all away,
The fields grow flow'ry, green, and gay,
The trees put on their tender leaves;
And all the ſtreams, that went aſtray,
The brook again into her bed receives.

See! the whole earth has made a change;
The nymphs and graces naked range
About the fields, who ſhrunk before
Into their caves. The empty grange
Prepares its room for a new ſummer's ſtore.

Leſt thou ſhouldſt hope immortal things,
The changing year inſtruction brings,
The fleeting hour, that ſteels away
The beggar's time, and life of kings,
But ne'er returns them, as it does the day.

The cold grows ſoft with weſtern gales,
The Summer over Spring prevails,
But yields to Autumn's fruitful rain,
As this to Winter ſtorms and hails;
Each loſs the haſting moons repair again.

But we, when once our race is done,
With Tullus, and Anchiſes' ſon,
(Though rich like one, like t'other good)
To duſt and ſhades, without a ſun,
Deſcend, and ſink in deep oblivion's flood.

Who knows, if the kind gods will give
Another day to men that live
In hope of many diſtant years;
Or if one night more ſhall retrieve
The joys thou loſeſt by thy idle fears?

The pleaſant hours thou ſpend'ſt in health,
The uſe thou mak'ſt of youth and wealth,
As what thou giv'ſt among thy friends
Eſcapes thy heirs, ſo thoſe the ſtealth
Of time and death, where good and evil ends.

For when that comes, nor birth, nor fame,
Nor piety, nor honeſt name,
Can e'er reſtore thee. Theſeus bold,
Nor chaſte Hippolitus could tame
Devouring fate, that ſpares nor young nor old.

HORACE, Lib. i. Ode 13.

WHEN thou commend'ſt the lovely eyes
Of Telephus, that for thee dies,
His arms of wax, his neck, or hair;
Oh! how my heart begins to beat,
My ſpleen is ſwell'd with gall and heat,
And all my hopes are turn'd into deſpair.

Then both my mind and colour change,
My jealous thoughts about me range,
In twenty ſhapes; my eyes begin,
Like winter-ſprings, apace to fill;
The ſtealing drops, as from a ſtill,
Fall down, and tell what fires I feel within.

When his reproaches make thee cry,
And thy freſh cheeks with paleneſs die,
I burn, to think you will be friends;
When his rough hand thy boſom ſtrips,
Or his fierce kiſſes tear thy lips,
I die, to ſee how all ſuch quarrel ends.

Ah never hope a youth to hold,
So haughty, and in love ſo bold;
What can him tame in anger keep?
Whom all this fondneſs can't aſſwage,
Who even kiſſes turns to rage,
Which Venus does in her own Nectar ſteep.

Thrice

Thrice happy they, whoſe gentle hearts,
Till death itſelf their union parts,
An undiſturbed kindneſs holds,
Without complaints or jealous fears,
Without reproach or ſpited tears,
Which damps the kindeſt heats with ſudden colds.

Upon the Approach of the Shore at HARWICH, in January, 1668. Begun under the Maſt.

WELCOME, the faireſt and the happieſt earth,
Seat of my hopes and pleaſures, as my birth;
Mother of well-born ſouls, and fearleſs hearts,
In arms renown'd, and flouriſhing in arts;
The iſland of good-nature, and good cheer,
That elſewhere only paſs, inhabit here:
Region of valour, and of beauty too;
Which ſhews, the brave are only fit to woo.
No child thou haſt, ever approach'd thy ſhore,
That lov'd thee better, or eſteem'd thee more.
Beaten with journeys, both of land and ſeas,
Weary'd with care, the buſy man's diſeaſe;
Pinch'd with the froſt, and parched with the wind;
Giddy with rolling, and with faſting pin'd;
Spited and vex'd, that winds, and tides, and ſands,
Should all conſpire to croſs ſuch great commands,
As haſte me home, with an account, that brings
The doom of kingdoms to the beſt of kings:
Yet I reſpire at thy reviving ſight,
Welcome as health, and cheerful as the light.
How I forget my anguiſh and my toils,
Charm'd at th' approach of thy delightful ſoils!
How, like a mother, thou hold'ſt out thy arms,
To ſave thy children from purſuing harms,
And open'ſt thy kind boſom, where they find
Safety from waves, and ſhelter from the wind:
Thy cliffs ſo ſtately, and ſo green thy hills,
This with reſpect, with hope the other fills

All that approach thee; who believe they find
A ſpring for winter, that they left behind.
Thy ſweet incloſures, and thy ſcatter'd farms,
Shew thy ſecureneſs from thy neighbour's harms;
Their ſheep in houſes, and their men in towns,
Sleep only ſafe; thine rove about the downs,
And hills, and groves, and plains, and know no fear
Of foes, or wolves, or cold, throughout the year.
Their vaſt and frightful woods ſeem only made
To cover cruel deeds, and give a ſhade
To ſavage beaſts, who on the weaker prey,
Or human ſavages more wild than they.
Thy pleaſant thickets, and thy ſhady groves,
Only relieve the heats, and cover loves,
Shelt'ring no other thefts or cruelties,
But thoſe of killing or beguiling eyes.
Their famiſh'd hinds, by cruel lords enſlav'd,
Ruin'd by taxes, and by ſoldiers brav'd,
Know no more eaſe than juſt what ſleep can give;
Have no more heat and courage but to live:
Thy brawny clowns, and ſturdy ſeamen, fed
With manly food that their own fields have bred,
Safe in their laws, and eaſy in their rent,
Bleſs'd in their king, and in their ſtate content;
When they are call'd away from herd and plough
To arms, will make all foreign forces bow,
And ſhew how much a lawful monarch ſaves,
When twenty ſubjects beat an hundred ſlaves.
Fortunate iſland! if thou didſt but know
How much thou doſt to heav'n and nature owe!
And if thy humour were as good, as great
Thy forces, and as bleſs'd thy ſoil as ſeat:
But then with numbers thou would'ſt be o'er-run:
Strangers, to breathe thy air, their own would ſhun;
And of thy children none abroad would roam,
But for the pleaſure of returning home.
Come, and embrace us in thy ſaving arms,
Command the waves to ceaſe their rough alarms,
And guard us to thy port that we may ſee
Thou art indeed the empreſs of the ſea.
So may thy ſhips about the ocean courſe,
And ſtill increaſe in number and in force,

So may no ſtorms ever infeſt thy ſhores,
But all the winds that blow increaſe thy ſtores.
May never more contagious air ariſe
To cloſe ſo many of thy childrens eyes:
But all about thee health and plenty vie,
Which ſhall ſeem kindeſt to thee, earth or ſky.
May no more fires be ſeen among the towns,
But charitable beacons on thy downs;
Or elſe victorious bonfires in thy ſtreets,
Kindled by winds that blow from off thy fleets.
May'ſt thou feel no more fits of factious rage,
But all diſtempers may thy Charles aſſuage,
With ſuch a well-turn'd concord of his ſtate,
As none but ill, and hated men, may hate.
And may'ſt thou from him endleſs monarchs ſee,
Whom thou may'ſt honour, who may honour thee.
May they be wiſe and good: thy happy ſeat
And ſtores will never fail to make them great.

HORACE, Lib. iii. Ode 29.

I.

MECÆNAS, off-ſpring of Tyrrhenian kings,
And worthy of the greateſt empire's ſway,
Unbend thy working mind a while, and play
With ſofter thoughts, and looſer ſtrings;
Hard iron, ever wearing, will decay.

II.

A piece untouch'd of old and noble wine
Attends thee here; ſoft eſſence for thy hair,
Of purple violets made, or lilies fair;
The roſes hang their heads and pine,
And, till you come, in vain perfume the air.

III.

Be not inveigled by the gloomy ſhades
Of Tiber, nor cool Anien's cryſtal ſtreams;
The ſun is yet but young, his gentle beams
Revive, and ſcorch not up the blades.
The ſpring, like virtue, dwells between extremes.

IV.

Leave fulſome plenty for a while, and come
From ſtately palaces that tow'r ſo high,
And ſpread ſo far; the duſt and bus'neſs fly,
The ſmoke and noiſe of mighty Rome,
And cares, that on embroider'd carpets lie.

V.

It is viciſſitude that pleaſure yields
To men, with greateſt wealth and honours bleſt;
And ſometimes homely fare, but cleanly dreſt,
In country farms, or pleaſant fields,
Clears up a cloudy brow, and thoughtful breaſt.

VI.

Now the cold winds have blown themſelves away,
The froſts are melted into pearly dews;
The chirping birds each morning tell the news
Of chearful ſpring and welcome day,
The tender lambs follow the bleating ewes.

VII.

The vernal bloom adorns the fruitful trees
With various dreſs; the ſoft and gentle rains
Begin with flowers t' enamel all the plains;
The turtle with her mate agrees;
And wanton nymphs with their enamour'd ſwains.

VIII.

Thou art contriving in thy mind, what ſtate
And form becomes that mighty city beſt:
Thy buſy head can take no gentle reſt,
For thinking on th' events and fate
Of factious rage, which has her long oppreſt.

IX.

Thy cares extend to the remoteſt ſhores
Of her vaſt empire; how the Perſian arms;
Whether the Bactrians join their troops; what harms
From the Cantabrians and the Moors
May come, or the tumultuous German ſwarms.

X. But

X.

But the wiſe powers above that all things know,
In ſable night have hid th' events, and train
Of future things; and with a juſt diſdain
Laugh, when poor mortals here below
Fear without cauſe, and break their ſleeps in vain.

XI.

Think how the preſent thou may'ſt beſt compoſe
With equal mind, and without endleſs cares;
For the unequal courſe of ſtate affairs,
Like to the ocean, ebbs and flows,
Or rather like our neighbouring Tiber fares.

XII.

Now ſmooth and gentle through her channel creeps,
With ſoft and eaſy murmurs purling down:
Now ſwells and rages, threat'ning all to drown,
Away both corn and cattle ſweeps,
And fills with noiſe and horror fields and town.

XIII.

After a while, grown calm, retreats again
Into her ſandy bed, and ſoftly glides.
So JOVE ſometimes in fiery chariot rides
With cracks of thunder, ſtorms of rain,
Then grows ſerene, and all our fears derides.

XIV.

He only lives content, and his own man,
Or rather maſter, who, each night, can ſay,
'Tis well, thanks to the gods, I've liv'd to-day;
This is my own, this never can,
Like other goods, be forc'd or ſtol'n away.

XV.

And for to-morrow let me weep or laugh,
Let the ſun ſhine, or ſtorms or tempeſts ring,
Yet 'tis not in the pow'r of fates, a thing
Should ne'er have been, or not be ſafe,
Which flying time has cover'd with her wing.

XVI.

Capricious fortune plays a ſcornful game
With human things; uncertain as the wind:
Sometimes to thee, ſometimes to me is kind:
Throws about honours, wealth, and fame,
At random, heedleſs, humorous, and blind.

XVII.

He's wiſe, who, when ſhe ſmiles, the good enjoys,
And unallay'd with fears of future ill;
But, if ſhe frowns, e'en let her have her will.
I can with eaſe reſign the toys,
And lie wrapp'd up in my own virtue ſtill.

XVIII.

I'll make my court to honeſt poverty,
An eaſy wife, although without a dower:
What nature aſks will yet be in my power;
For without pride or luxury
How little ſerves to paſs the fleeting hour?

XIX.

'Tis not for me, when winds and billows riſe,
And crack the maſt, and mock the ſeamen's cares,
To fall to poor and mercenary prayers,
For fear the Tyrian merchandiſe
Should all be loſt, and not enrich my heirs.

XX.

I'll rather leap into the little boat,
Which without flutt'ring ſails ſhall waft me o'er
The ſwelling waves, and then I'll think no more
Of ſhip, or fraught: but change my note,
And thank the gods, that I am ſafe a-ſhore.

HORACE.

H O R A C E.

Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus, & auri.

NOR houſe nor lands, nor heaps of plate, or gold,
Can cure a fever's heat, or ague's cold,
Much leſs a mind with grief or care oppreſt:
No man's poſſeſſions e'er can make him bleſs'd,
That is not well himſelf, and ſound at heart;
Nature will ever be too ſtrong for art.
Whoever feeds vain hopes, or fond deſires,
Diſtracting fears, wild love, or jealous fires;
Is pleas'd with all his fortunes, like ſore eyes
With curious pictures; gouty legs and thighs
With dancing; or half-dead and aching ears
With muſic, while the noiſe he hardly hears.
For if the caſk remains unſound or ſour,
Be the wine ne'er ſo rich, or ſweet, you pour,
'Twill take the veſſel's taſte, and loſe its own,
And all you fill were better let alone.

T I B U L L U S, Lib. iv. El. 2.

TO worſhip thee, O mighty Mars, upon
Thy ſacred calends is Sulpitia gone?
If thou art wiſe, leave the celeſtial ſphere,
And for a while come down to ſee her here:
Venus will pardon; but take heed her charms
Make thee not, gazing, ſoon let fall thy arms:
When Love would ſet the gods on fire, he flies
To light his torches at her ſparkling eyes.
Whate'er Sulpitia does, where-e'er ſhe goes,
The graces all her motions ſtill compoſe:

How

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How her hair charms us, when it looſely falls,
Comb'd back and ty'd our veneration calls;
If ſhe comes out in ſcarlet, how ſhe turns
Us all to aſhes; though in white, ſhe burns.
Vertumnus ſo a thouſand dreſſes wears,
So, in a thouſand, ev'ry grace appears:
Of all the virgins, ſhe deſerves alone
In Tyrian purple to adorn a throne;
She, to poſſeſs, and reap the ſpicy fields,
Gather the gums that rich Arabia yields;
She, all the orient pearls, that grow in ſhells,
Along the ſhores where the tann'd Indian dwells.
For her, the muſes tune their charming lays,
For her, upon his harp Apollo plays;
May ſhe this feaſt for many years adore,
None can become, deſerve an altar more.

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